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OF THE
WALDENSES,

FROM THE
FIRST PERIOD UP TO THE PRESENT
TIME.

BY WILLIAM SMITH.

HISTORIES OF THE REFORMATION, CHRISTIAN
CHURCH, SEPARATISTS, &c.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

EDINBURGH:

WILLIAM OLIPHANT AND SON,

7. SOUTH BRIDGE STREET;

AND BY WILLIAM COLLINS, AND GEORGE GARRIE, GLASGOW;

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M.DCCC.XXXIV.



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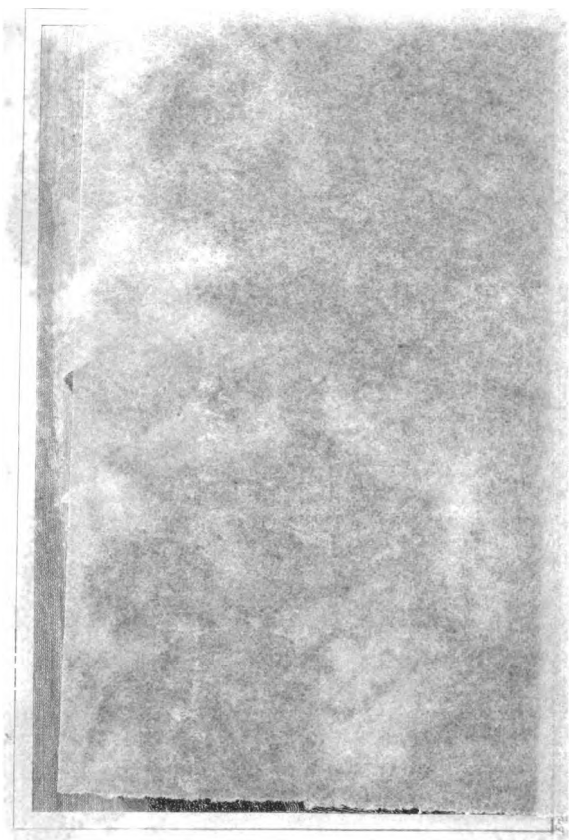
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By J. M. W. Turner

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AUTHOR OF THE

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CHURCH, COVENANTERS," &c.**



**"They wandered about—destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom
the world was not worthy."—*Hebrews*.**

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PREFACE.

It has been objected to Christianity by the sceptic, that however sublime and elevating its doctrines may be, it has but little practical efficacy on those communities which professedly submit to its authority,—that vast zeal is often displayed in propagating, under its name, creeds and tenets, the offspring of idle speculation, at the expense of extinguishing the kindly affections of the heart,—that even those who minister at its altar betray a malignant spirit, by the vituperance and slander which in their controversies they cast on each other,—and that, although instances may be adduced of individuals having exhibited splendid proofs of its moralising power, no society can be pointed out which has, to any great or general extent, been regulated by its precepts.

We do not mean to say that there is no truth in these allegations. On the con-

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trary, we must acknowledge with regret, that few Christian societies can be pointed out, whose members, generally speaking, live by faith, and manifest the power of godliness in their lives. But the objection, if intended to apply to every class of Christians without exception, we hesitate not to pronounce to be false ; and in refutation of it, we have only to refer to the history of the Waldenses,—a body of Christians who held the faith of the gospel in its purity, and whose character and conduct were in strict accordance with the living oracles of God. Never perhaps was there a brighter example of a Church, “ordering its steps aright,” by the constraining influence of God’s love. Never was there a community of men, engaged in the ordinary duties and pursuits of the world, less imbued with its spirit, or less desirous of its excellencies. On such a shattered wreck as human nature, no goodlier edifice of vital Christianity was ever reared, than that which has been, and is still seen in the Vaudois Church, planted in the valleys of Piedmont. Their

love to one another, founded on their love to Him who first loved them, was pure and stedfast; their persecutions, almost unparalleled in history, served but to increase their bond of union; their valour, inspired by conscious virtue, was manly and noble; and when they achieved a victory over their oppressors, they uniformly ascribed it, not to their own power or might, but to the arm of the Lord of Hosts. They were the witnesses of God in a dark and abominable age,—the men reserved, who never “bowed the knee to Baal,”—and in the midst of sufferings, and death itself, they stood forward as the champions of the “form of sound words, which they had heard in faith and love.”

To the adherents of the Romish Church, the history of this people may supply a satisfactory answer to their question, “Where was the Protestant religion before the Reformation?” If it be true that, prior to that glorious era, no religion existed bearing this appellation, it is equally true that the principles of the Waldenses were

strictly Protestant. Their views of the Godhead, of sin, of the atonement, of justification by the righteousness of Christ alone, and the other doctrines of the Gospel, as well as their strenuous opposition to Popery, and their ideas of church government, were essentially the same as are held by Protestant Churches at this day. For such doctrines as these persecuted followers of the Lamb avowed, did Luther, Calvin, Knox, and a host of illustrious men, leave that Church in which they were nurtured, and uplift their voices against its innovations and distortions; and for the same faith did the Christian hero and patriot Zuinglius contend and bleed.

When, as if animated by one spirit, a great portion of Europe rose in opposition to the encroachments and tyranny of the Roman hierarchy, determined no longer to be galled by its yoke, it was not the desire of new doctrines, but a wish to return to the primitive purity from which they had receded, that produced the change. If, therefore, many ages before the Reforma-

tion, a Church can be appealed to, having all the constituent elements of that to which the name of Protestant is now given, we may unhesitatingly affirm, that this is a satisfactory solution of the question asked.

The design of this little Volume is to furnish the youthful student, and those persons whose leisure will not allow them to peruse larger works, with a condensed but connected view of these people of God. And should it be serviceable in leading either the sceptic to perceive that Christianity is a practical religion, or the adherent of Romish idolatry to discover that the Waldenses were under the influence of pure religion ere it was encumbered by man's institutions, a very important, though secondary purpose, will be accomplished.

It may be only farther stated, that no exertion has been spared to render the history as complete and unbroken as possible; that every source to which the writer had access has been explored to authenticate the statements advanced in it; and that it was deemed unnecessary to swell the work

by quoting the authorities from which information has been obtained, the names of the historians who have been consulted, being for the most part given in the body of the narrative. It is but justice, however, to mention the names of Morland, Sismondi, Jones, Gilly, Acland, Sims, and Bresse, whose able and interesting works we would highly recommend to the perusal of those readers who wish for a more detailed account of the inhabitants of Piedmont.

EDINBURGH, *November 1827.*

In this Second Edition we have availed ourselves of several additional important facts concerning the Waldenses from the works of Gilly and Blair. The last mentioned author in particular, has recently published a valuable history of these interesting people, which is well deserving of the reader's careful perusal.

EDINBURGH, *May 1834.*

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HISTORY

OF THE

WALDENSES.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks—the Paulicians—their principles—they are persecuted by the Greek Emperors—sentiments of Paulinas, Bishop of Aquileia—Claudius, Bishop of Turin—he opposes the errors and superstitions of the Romish Church—his zeal exposes him to the resentment of the clergy—extracts from his writings—successful result of his labours—his death—his opinions preserved in the valleys of Piedmont.

THE melancholy picture which ecclesiastical historians have exhibited of the state of religion in the seventh and following centuries, is too well authenticated to require farther proof. Ignorance, superstition, error, and vice, reigned throughout the Christian world, both among

the clergy and the laity. The pure and holy doctrines of the Son of God were so sadly corrupted by the unhallowed inventions of men, that to that "iron age" may literally be applied the words of the sacred historian, "They set them up images and groves in every high hill, and under every green tree: And they left all the commandments of the Lord their God, and made them molten images,—and worshipped all the host of heaven;—and used divination and enchantments, and sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger."

That this passage of Scripture is justly applicable to the Papal Church in these degenerate ages, is corroborated by the united testimony of numerous historians. "Every thing sacred in religion," says Voltaire, "was disfigured in the West, by customs the most ridiculous and extravagant. The festivals of fools and asses were established in most churches. On days of solemnity, they created a bishop of fools; and an ass was led into the body of the church, dressed in a cape and four-cornered cap. Church dances, feastings on the altar, revelry, and obscene farces, were the ceremonies observed

on those festivals, and in many dioceses these extravagances were continued for seven centuries. Were we to consider only the usages here related, we should imagine we were reading an account of Hottentots or Negroes ; and it must be confessed, that in many things we did not fall much short of them."

In the darkest ages of Popery, however, God never "left himself without a witness." It is true, that from the rise of that Antichristian hierarchy till the dawn of the Reformation, the people of Christ may be emphatically denominated a "little flock;" yet small as their number may appear to have been to the eye of man, and unable as ecclesiastical historians may now be to trace with accuracy the saints of the Most High, amidst "a world lying in wickedness," it cannot be doubted that, even then, there was "a remnant which kept the commandments of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ." If God reserved to himself "seven thousand in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal" in the reign of the idolatrous Ahab, can we suppose, that, during any succeeding period, his Church ever could cease to exist, or his cause utterly perish? On the contrary, his "hidden

ones" were to be found in every age, and his faithful witnesses' never ceased to prophesy, though it was almost uniformly in sackcloth. '

Among many others who at a much earlier period fearlessly lifted up their voices against the evils which abounded in the Church, was a body of Christians, called Paulicians, who appeared in the East about the year 660. Constantine, their leader, who was a native of Mananalis, an obscure town in the vicinity of Samosata, having received from a stranger the New Testament in its original language, not only studied that inestimable gift himself, but communicated to others the great truths which it contained. The success which attended his labours was so great, that a church was soon collected, and in a short time afterwards several individuals arose among them, qualified for the work of the ministry. These heralds of the Gospel disseminated their principles in many distant places ; several congregations were formed throughout Armenia and Cappadocia, and in process of time they spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates.

As all our information concerning the Pau-

licians* is derived from the pens of their enemies, the Roman Catholics, it is difficult to ascertain with accuracy their genuine principles. Their enemies called them Manichees, from a sect which sprung up in the third century, whose tenets were of the most unscriptural and extravagant description, and directly the reverse of the doctrines which were taught by the Paulicians. "They sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect," says Gibbon, "and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on them." It is admitted even by their worst enemies, that the Paulicians held the doctrine of the Trinity, which was incompatible with Manicheism. They relied for salvation entirely on the merits of Christ; rejected the worship of images; disregarded all relics of saints and martyrs; adhered to the scriptural use of the sacraments,

* It would seem that they voluntarily adopted this name, calling themselves by that of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Constantine assumed the name of Sylvanus, and others of his brethren were called Titus, Tychicus, Timothy, &c.; and the names of the churches to which the Apostle Paul addressed his epistles were given to the congregations which were formed by their labours in Armenia and Cappadocia.

and condemned the numerous superstitions which had become so general in that age.

Alarmed at the growing importance and rapid increase of this new sect, the Greek Emperors persecuted them with the most sanguinary severity. Their books were ordered to be committed to the flames, and their persons subjected to capital punishments. Constantine, their leader, was the first victim to the cruelty of their enemies, having been stoned to death by orders of a Greek officer. Multitudes of his followers soon shared a like fate ; and during a period of one hundred and fifty years, these unoffending people were subjected to the most horrid persecutions ; all which they endured with Christian meekness and patience. "The more they were oppressed," however, "the more they multiplied and grew." A succession of teachers and congregations arose ; and a person, named Sergius, who had laboured among them for thirty-seven years in the ministry of the gospel, is acknowledged, even by the vilest calumniators, to have been a most exemplary Christian. The persecution had, however, some intermission, until at length Theodora, the Greek Empress, exerted herself against them beyond all her pre-

decessors. She sent inquisitors throughout all Asia Minor in search of the Paulicians, and is computed to have killed, by the gibbet, by fire, and by the sword, *a hundred thousand persons*.

Though it would appear that the faith and patience of the Paulicians at length failed, and that towards the close of the ninth century they were gradually betrayed into a secular spirit, yet many others were raised up by Divine Providence, who firmly and nobly withstood the Papal usurpations. Among these, none were more eminent than Paulinas, Bishop of Aquileia, in Italy, and Claudius, Bishop of Turin. The former of these prelates was born about the year 726, near Friuli. Having for many years preached the gospel to the Pagans of Carinthia and Styria, and to the Avars, a nation of Huns, he was ordained bishop of Aquileia in 776, where he continued to labour till his death, which took place in 804. So enlightened and firm was the mind of Paulinas, that in 787, he and some other Italian bishops agreed to condemn as idolatrous the decrees of the second Council of Nice, which had established the worship of images. His sentiments concerning the Lord's supper were similar to those which are held by the Re-

formed Churches at the present time, pouring the utmost contempt on the sacrifice of the mass, and affirming that the bread remains as unchanged after, as previous to its consecration. He vindicated the doctrine of Christ's death being the only true propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and condemned in the strongest terms all human satisfactions, maintaining that the blood of none of those who have themselves been redeemed is capable of blotting out the least sin. In order to prove the divinity of the Saviour, he made use of the following arguments, while illustrating that passage in the 6th of John, in reference to eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ. " ' He that eats *my* flesh and drinks *my* blood,' saith Jesus, ' hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.' The power of raising up at the last day belongs to none but the true God ; for the flesh and blood cannot be referred to his divine, but to his human nature, by which he is the Son of man. And yet, if that Son of man, whose flesh and blood this is, (for that one and the same person is both the Son of God and the Son of man,) were not *really* God, his flesh and blood could not procure eternal life to those that eat them. Hence, also, John says, ' The

blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin.' " Again, in speaking of Christ's intercession, Paulinas argues thus : " He is called the Mediator, because he is a middle person between both the disagreeing parties, and reconciles both of them in one. Paul is not a mediator, but a faithful ambassador of Christ. Our advocate is one that intercedes for those that are already reconciled, even as our Redeemer doth, when he exhibits to God the Father his human nature in the unity of his person, being God-man. John doth not intercede for us, but declares Jesus to be the propitiation for our sins." In short, " whoever examines the opinions of Paulinas," says Allix, " will easily perceive that he denies what the Church of Rome affirms with relation to many of its leading tenets, and affirms what the Church of Rome denies ; and whatever colourable pretexts may be employed, it will be difficult not to perceive this opposition through them all."

In regard to Claudius of Turin, it will be necessary to enter a little more into detail, not only from the title which he has commonly received from ecclesiastical historians, namely, that of the " first Protestant Reformer," but more par-

ticularly on account of his being considered by some as the founder of the WALDENSES. This eminent saint was a native of Spain, and in his early years was one of the chaplains in the court of Lewis the Meek, King of France. That monarch, perceiving the ignorance of a great part of Italy, was desirous of providing the churches of Piedmont with a person who would oppose the growing idolatry of image-worship, and seeing none better qualified for accomplishing this object than Claudius, on account of his extensive knowledge of the Scriptures and eminent talents as a preacher, Lewis raised him to the see of Turin in 817. Nor were the expectations of that monarch disappointed. Claudius performed the duties of his office with great faithfulness; and, both by writing and preaching, incessantly laboured to instruct the people in the great truths of the gospel of Christ. Many of the doctrines which were taught by this Reformer, were directly the reverse of those which were received and inculcated by the Romish Church, and coincided with those which were afterwards adhered to by the Waldenses. He affirmed that the only proper Head of the Church is the Lord Jesus Christ,—a doctrine which struck at the very

root of the Popish hierarchy. He denied the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and adduced the most weighty arguments to prove its absurdity. He maintained that men are justified by faith, without the deeds of the law : that the word of God alone is the ground of the Christian's faith ; that no human traditions are of equal authority with the Scriptures ; that it is absurd to offer up prayers for the dead ; and that the Church is not infallible. He showed his zeal, in particular, against images, relics, and pilgrimages, in not only writing against these idolatrous practices, but in breaking down and burning all the images which were in the churches throughout his diocese.

The attacks of Claudius on the kingdom of darkness were highly resented by the adherents of Popery. The monks reviled him as a blasphemer and a heretic, and his own people became so refractory, that in a short time he went about in fear of his life. He was attacked, in particular, by Dungalus, a French monkish writer, who in 828 severely censured him " for presuming, after a lapse of above eight centuries, to reprove what had been in continual use in the Church, as if there had been none before himself that had ever had any zeal for religion." Another writer, equal-

ly virulent, informed him that his doctrines and conduct had given great offence both in the court of Lewis and throughout the Christian world. In answer to both of these opponents, Claudius wrote a treatise in vindication of himself and his principles, which for depth, solidity, and clearness of reasoning, might be justly considered a production of the nineteenth, rather than of the ninth century.

“ You declare,” says he, “ that you have been troubled that my fame was spread not only throughout all Italy, but also in Spain, and elsewhere, as if I were preaching a new doctrine, or setting myself up as the founder of a new sect, contrary to the rules of the ancient Catholic faith ; which is an absolute falsehood. But it is no wonder that the members of Satan should talk of me at this rate ; they called Christ a deceiver, and one that had a devil. For I teach no new heresy, but keep myself to the pure truth, preaching and publishing nothing but that. On the contrary, as far as in me lies, I have repressed, opposed, cast down, and destroyed, and do still repress, oppose, cast down, and destroy, to the utmost of my power, all sects, schisms, supersti-

tions, and heresies, and shall never cease so to do, God being my helper, as far as in me lies.

“ Being obliged to accept the bishopric, when I came to Turin, I found all the churches full of abominations and images ; and because I began to destroy what every one adored, every one began to open his mouth against me. They say, we do not believe that there is any thing divine in the image ; we only reverence it in honour of the person whom it represents. I answer, if they who have quitted the worship of devils, honour the images of the saints, they have not forsaken idols ; they have only changed the names. For whether you paint upon a wall the pictures of Peter or Paul, or those of Jupiter, Saturn, or Mercury, they are now neither gods, nor apostles, nor men ; the name is changed, but the error remains the same. If men must be adored, there would be less absurdity in adoring them when alive, while they are the image of God, than after they are dead, when they only resemble stocks and stones.

“ But mark what the followers of superstition allege. They tell us it is in commemoration and honour of our Saviour that they serve, honour, and adore the cross—persons whom nothing in

the Saviour pleaseth, but that which was pleasing to the ungodly, namely, the reproach of his sufferings and the token of his death. God commands one thing, and these people do quite the contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, and not to worship it ; but these are all for worshipping it, whereas they do not bear it at all. If we adore the cross, because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which touched Jesus Christ, and which he made according to the flesh ? Why do they not adore mangers and swaddling-clothes, because he was laid in the one, and wrapped in the other ? Let them adore asses, because he entered into Jerusalem upon the foal of an ass ; and lambs, because it is written of him, ‘ Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world.’ But these sorts of men would rather eat live lambs than worship their images ! Why do they not worship lions, because he is called ‘ the Lion of the tribe of Judah ?’ or rocks, since it is said, ‘ and that rock was Christ ?’ or thorns, because he was crowned with them ? or spears, because one of them pierced his side ?

“ All these things are ridiculous, rather worthy of lamentation, than of grave discussion : but we

are compelled to state them in opposition to fools, and to declaim against those hearts of stone, which the arrows and sentences of the divine word cannot pierce. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors ; why are ye gone astray from the truth, and are fallen in love with vanity ? Why do you make souls by troops to become the associates of devils, by the horrible sacrifice of your idols, estranging them from their Creator ?

“ As to your reproaching me with hindering men from running in pilgrimage to Rome, I demand of yourself, whether you think to go to Rome is to repent or to do penance ? If indeed it be, why then have you for so long a time damned so many souls, by confining them in your monastery, and whom you have taken into it, that they might there do penance ; if it be so, that the way to do penance is to go to Rome, and yet you have hindered them ? What have you to say against this sentence, ‘ Whosoever shall lay a stone of stumbling before any of these little ones, it were better for him that a millstone were hung about his neck, and he cast into the bottom of the sea ? ’

“ We know very well, that this passage of the gospel is quite misunderstood,—‘ Thou art

Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church ; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ;' under the pretence of which words, the stupid and ignorant multitude, destitute of all spiritual knowledge, betake themselves to Rome, in the hope of acquiring eternal life. But the ministry of the gospel belongs to all true presbyters and pastors of the Church, who discharge the same as long as they are in this world, and when they have paid the debt of death, others succeed in their places, who possess the same authority and power.

“ Return, O ye blind, to your light, return to Him who enlightens every man that cometh into the world. All of you, however numerous ye may be, who depart from this light, ye walk in darkness, and know not whither ye go, for the darkness has put out your eyes. If we are to believe God when he promiseth, how much more when he swears, and saith, that neither Noah, Daniel, nor Job, (that is, though the saints whom you call upon were endowed with holiness, righteousness, and merit, equal to theirs,) shall deliver son or daughter by their righteousness ? For this end, he makes the declaration, that none might place their confidence either in the merits

or intercession of saints. Ye fools, who run to Rome, there to seek for the intercession of an apostle ; when will ye be wise ?”

Such were the sentiments of Claudius regarding the worship of images, and such his powerful arguments in support of that worship which alone is well pleasing to Jehovah. Nor were his labours in vain. By his preaching, and by his writings, he disseminated the pure doctrines of the gospel of Christ, as he found them contained in the Scriptures of truth ; and he was made the happy instrument of not only checking the growing evils in his own diocese, but of sowing that seed, which being watered and blessed by the influence of heaven, filled at length the valleys of Piedmont. These “ valleys,” says Jones, “ were in time filled with his disciples, and while midnight darkness sat enthroned over almost every portion of the globe, the Waldenses, which is only another name for the inhabitants of these valleys, preserved the gospel among them in its native purity, and rejoiced in its glorious light.”

Notwithstanding the powerful opposition which he experienced from the votaries of superstition, Claudius was suffered to end his days in peace. From the uniformly persecuting spirit of Popery,

we cannot but conclude, that Claudius would have fallen a victim to the malice of his enemies, had they not been afraid of the French court, by whom he was protected. The Synod of Paris, too, which met in 822 or 824, defended Claudius, and even opposed the court of Rome on the subject of image worship. Still, however, the life of Claudius was in continual jeopardy. "In standing up," says he, "for the confirmation and defence of the truth, I am become a reproach to my neighbours, to that degree, that those who see us do not only scoff at us, but point at us one to another. But God, the father of mercies, and author of all consolation, hath comforted us in all our afflictions, that we may be able, in like manner, to comfort those that are cast down with sorrow and affliction. We rely upon the protection of Him who hath armed and fortified us with the armour of righteousness and of faith, the tried shield of our salvation."

Having spent an active and a useful life in the service of the Redeemer, and in promoting his cause in the world, this great Reformer died in the Lord, in the year 839. Had his works been as carefully preserved, and faithfully published, as those of his adversaries, his character

and principles would have been still better known and appreciated than they are among Protestants. Enough, however, has been recorded to show, that Claudius was at once a Protestant Reformer, and a pious divine. "It was worth our while," says Dr Allix, "to take notice of these opinions of Claudius, and of the manner of his reforming his diocese, that we might make it appear that he laid the solid principles of the Reformation in these parts, as to several points. And this was the more necessary, because the Papists, as Genebrard, in his Chronology, and Rorengo, have owned, that the valleys of Piedmont, which did belong to the bishopric of Turin, preserved the opinions of Claudius in the ninth and tenth centuries." Genebrard himself, indeed, styles the doctrines of Claudius and his followers Calvinistic,—speaks of "the Calvinists following the opinions of Claud of Turin,"—and denominates the Waldenses *Calvinists*. "Should it be asked," says Gilly, "where was the true Church of Christ to be found, after so many heresies were avowed by the Roman hierarchy, at the second Council of Nice, in 767? the answer is, It was to be found in the churches of the valleys of Pied-

mont; to preside over which, Bishop Claude was called from Spain, that he might stem the torrent of idolatry, and oppose farther attempts at unscriptural innovations."

Claudius published a great number of works, chiefly commentaries on several books of the Old and New Testaments. That the doctrines which he thus disseminated in the diocese of Turin could never afterwards be wholly eradicated by the votaries of Rome, is attested by many writers, and especially by Bellarmine, who asserts, "That the identical belief which was publicly taught and professed in those valleys of Piedmont in the year 820, was the very same which is at this day professed and owned by the Reformed Churches."

CHAP. II.

Description of the valleys of Piedmont—antiquity of the Waldenses—testimonies in favour of their remote origin, from the pens of their enemies—they are the first to oppose Papal corruptions—are persecuted—derivation of their name—doctrinal sentiments of the Cathari—testimonies in their favour by their persecutors—the rapid increase of their numbers—cruel treatment of some of them in England—the Noble Lesson—ancient Vaudois manuscript against Antichrist, &c.

PREVIOUS to entering more particularly on the history of the Waldenses, it may be proper to give here a short description of the valleys which these faithful witnesses for the truth inhabited, and which were the scene of their long and dreadful sufferings. These valleys are for the

most part situated within the confines of Piedmont,* and extend along the eastern foot of the Cottian Alps, the highest range of mountains in Europe, and which divide Italy from France, Switzerland, and Germany. The principality of Piedmont is bounded on the east by the duchies of Milan and Montferrat, on the south by Nice and Genoa, on the west by France, and on the north by Savoy. The inhabitants were in former times the subjects of the dukes of Piedmont and Savoy, but more recently they have become subject to the king of Sardinia; and though they reside in a country which lies between France and Italy, they do not entirely assimilate with either nation in manners, customs, or language.

The principal valleys are, Aosta and Susa on the north, Stura on the south, and in the interior of the country, Lucerna, Angrogna, Roccapiatta, Pramol, Perosa, and San Martino. The valley of Pragela, or Clusone, was anciently a part of the province of Dauphiny, in France, and being surrounded by very high mountains, in the

* This name, which signifies "at the foot of the mountains," is derived from Piedmont's being situated at the bottom of the Alps.

sides of which are numerous caves, it formed one of the chief places of retreat for the inhabitants in times of persecution.* "The Protestant villages," says Gilly, in speaking of the present aspect of the defile which is called the valley of Perosa, "were concealed from our view by the natural barriers which rise in terrific and forbidden aspect on the western banks of the Clusone, and in many places serve to keep the valley in almost perpetual shade. The mountains, breaking into precipices, and the abruptness with which the topographical features change from one place to another, varied the scene enough to make even horrors not displeasing." Angrogna, Pramol, and San Martino, are likewise

* The following description of one of the caverns into which the Waldenses fled for safety from their persecutors, may give the reader some idea of the ingenuity which these afflicted people were compelled to exert for their own safety, as well as the natural asylums in many of the mountains, which were afforded them by Divine Providence. "Near the lofty and projecting crag which soars above Mount Vaudelin, there was a natural cavern, which the inhabitants of the commune of La Torre contrived to make a secret hiding-place. This cavern, in which between three and four hundred persons might conceal themselves, was vaulted, and shaped not unlike an oven, with clefts in the rock, which served for windows, and even for loop-holes; and prepared with recesses, which answered the purpose of watch-houses,

strongly fortified by nature, from their many difficult passes, and bulwarks of rocks and mountains; "as if the all-wise Creator," says Morland, "had from the beginning designed that place as a cabinet wherein to put some inestimable jewel, or, to speak more plainly, there to reserve many thousands of souls, which should not bow the knee before Baal."

Geographers and travellers in general, have described several of these valleys as being remarkably fertile, abounding in every thing necessary to the enjoyment of human life. The valley of Angrogna in particular, is thus described by Gilly: "Angrogna lies to the north of La Torre, and in the midst of some of the finest mountain scenery of which the Alps can boast. The mountain stream, which is called the tor-

from whence they might observe the motions of their assailants. There were also several chambers within this vast cave, accommodations for cooking meat, and a large fountain well supplied with water. It was impossible to enter it, except by one hole at the top; and those who were in the secret, could only let themselves down one at a time, and by a very slow and gradual process, with the assistance of steps, or foot-holes, cut in the rock. In fact, it was like descending into a mine; and one or two resolute men might easily defend the entrance against the assault of any force that could be brought against them."

rent of Angrogna, gives its name to a cluster of valleys which branch out like the boughs of a tree, and runs into the Pelice; just below La Torre. It is supplied by innumerable springs of water, which gush from the rocks, and by following its course from the vale, the tourist will be conducted to the village itself, and higher up, to such a succession of picturesque spots, and secluded glens, as no description can do justice to. The natural beauties of the scenery of Angrogna, and the sublime objects of crag rising above crag, of enormous masses of rock debouching into the glens beneath, and of abysses, the depths of which the eye cannot penetrate, are rendered still more interesting by their being consecrated to the memory of heroes and martyrs, whose histories are in the mouth of every peasant.....Before we left the scenery of Angrogna, and took a last view of its matchless beauties, we looked down upon a vale, the sweetest I ever saw, and which to this moment, after having seen the most lovely spots in Switzerland and Italy, I remember rather as a delightful vision, than a real prospect. It lay in the midst of a circular chain of mountains, so sheltered and protected, that it looked as if no

rough winds could ever visit it. The declivities which sloped down to it were clothed with trees of every description, among which were abundance of walnuts, mulberries, chesnuts, cherry, and other fruit trees.—If ever there was a place calculated to realize the dreams of happiness in solitude, it is this, where nature appears under the most favourable circumstances.”

Though none of the other valleys are equally delightful, yet they are generally far from being unfruitful. But while the traveller may admire the beauty or the fertility of many of the valleys of Piedmont, the Christian will contemplate their far higher glory, in their having had early planted among them what may justly be denominated “the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts,” and the “trees of righteousness of his own hand planting.” For “from the borders of Spain, throughout the greatest part of the south of France, among and below the Alps, along the Rhine, and even to Bohemia, thousands of the disciples of Christ, as will be hereafter shown, were found, even in the very worst of times, preserving the faith in its purity, adhering to the simplicity of Christian worship, patiently bearing the cross after Christ; men distinguished by their fear of

God, and obedience to his will, and persecuted only for righteousness' sake."

Although we have stated in the former chapter, that Claudius of Turin has been styled the founder of the Waldensian Churches, yet not a few historians have traced their origin to a period still more remote. Leger begins his history of the Churches of the Vaudois, by a declaration that "they never required any reformation." Henry Arnaud, too, makes the following statement:—"Neither has their church been ever reformed, whence arises its title *evangelic*. The Vaudois are in fact descended from those refugees from Italy, who, after St Paul had there preached the Gospel, abandoned their beautiful country, and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to those wild mountains, where they have, to this day, handed down the Gospel from father to son, in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St Paul." For the first four or five centuries, the whole of what is termed the diocese of the north of Italy, of which the Waldenses formed a part, remained comparatively pure. Though not altogether free from error in succeeding ages, yet being a pastoral, simple, and unambitious people, whose situation

kept them at a distance from the controversies and customs of these degenerate ages, they remained comparatively little infected by the abounding evils in the Church. The most ancient historian of the persecutions to which they were subjected, affirms, that "Toulouse had been scarcely ever exempt, even from its first foundation, from that pest of heresy which the fathers transmitted to their children;" and that "their opinions had been transmitted in Gaul, from generation to generation, almost from the origin of Christianity." A noble testimony to the antiquity of these evangelical Churches, which, from the first planting of religion in Gaul, had, as far as their opportunities would allow, resisted the usurpations and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Pope Alexander III. in a synod held at Tours, in 1167, declared, "That the doctrine of the Vaudois was a damnable heresy of long continuance." And their adversary Reinier, an Italian inquisitor of the middle of the thirteenth century, whose business it was to report the opinions of the heretics of Lyons, gives the following singular testimony:—"The heresy of the Vaudois, or poor people of Lyons, is of great antiquity. Among all the sects that

either are or have been, there is none more dangerous to the Church, and that for three reasons.

1. Because it is the sect of the *longest standing of any*; for some say that it hath been continued down ever since the time of Pope Sylvester, (in the fourth century); and others, ever since that of the Apostles. 2. Because it is the most general of all sects; for scarcely is there a country to be found where this sect hath not spread itself. And, 3. Because it has the greatest appearance of piety; for, in the sight of all, these men are just and honest in their transactions,—believe of God what ought to be believed,—receive all the articles of the Apostles' creed, and only profess to hate the Church of Rome."

In the ninth century, as we have already seen, a powerful attack was made on the Romish corruptions by Claudius, whom the theologian Dungalus charges with having occasioned the separation and apostacy of his flock from the Popish Church. Persevering from that early date in their separation from the Romish See, the attention of the neighbouring ecclesiastical states was at length excited; and, finding that those Alpine valleys were filled with a people

whose faith and practice were directly opposed to those of Rome, they left no means untried to overcome and compel these separatists to submit to the yoke of spiritual despotism. Perceiving, however, that neither force nor fraud was sufficient to effect their purpose, they had recourse to the civil power, and demanded its aid in crushing heretics so contumacious. For some time the princes and nobility of the adjacent countries refused to interfere; but ecclesiastical authority and tyranny at length prevailed, and the inhabitants of Piedmont were subjected to all the horrors of persecution. Turin, especially, was the scene of numerous cruelties, and many eminent servants of the Redeemer there sealed their testimony with their blood. To avoid the storm of persecution, multitudes of the Piedmontese fled from their native valleys, and, crossing the Alps, sought refuge among the inhabitants of the surrounding countries. In Italy, Germany, France, and England, to which they retreated in the hope of finding an asylum, they not only succeeded in preserving the pure doctrines of their own secluded valleys, but, for a time, were the means of producing extraordinary effects upon the manners and character of the

different people among whom they took up their abode.

Though these eminent witnesses for the truth are now termed generally WALDENSES and ALBIGENSES, yet they were formerly known by a variety of names,—some derived from their teachers, some from their manner of life, some from the places where they resided, some from the fate they suffered, and some from the malice of their enemies. The valleys of Piedmont, situated between Mount Viso and the Col de Sestrieres, first gave them the name of Vallenses, Waldenses, or Vaudois, a name which has since been employed to distinguish them as a primitive Church. Those in the south of France were termed Albigenses, or poor men of Lyons, from their residence in or about Albi and Lyons. In like manner, they were called Picards, Lombards, Bohemians, Bulgarians, &c. from the countries in which they dwelt. The epithets Cathari and Paterines, were applied to them as terms of reproach ; and that of Lollards, either from the same cause, or from a Waldensian pastor, Walter Lollard, who flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century. They also received the names of Josephites, Arnoldists,

Berengarians, &c. from some of their principal teachers ; and, in order to render them odious in the eyes of the world, their enemies branded them with the names of several ancient heretics.

That there were differences of opinion among these various classes of men, is readily acknowledged ; and that some of them did not hold the doctrine of the gospel in the same purity as others did, is equally true ; but of all of them it may be affirmed, that they ardently opposed the absurdities of the Romish Church, and the tyranny of the Papal See, and boldly preached, according to their light, “ the truth as it is in Jesus.” Whatever might be the errors which were held by some of these branches, the parent stock, however, the Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont, never deviated from the pure doctrines of the word of God.*

Having made these remarks concerning the various branches of opponents to the Romish Church, who have all been denominated by the

* In addition to some account of the doctrines of the Waldenses, especially of those who inhabit the valleys between the Pelice and the Clusone, which will be given afterwards, a more particular statement of their principles, chiefly extracted from their own writings, will be found in the Appendix.

general term *Waldenses*, we shall now take notice more particularly of a number of sincere and humble Christians, who, in the beginning of the twelfth century, attracted the notice of the Papal See, and who, among other names, were by their enemies termed *Cathari*. They were found chiefly in the south of France, Savoy, and Milan, and in Cologne, Flanders, and Lombardy. Their doctrines resembled, in many particulars, those of Claudius of Turin; and it is not at all improbable that they were the fruit of his labours, and had existed from the age in which he lived. These heretics, as they were called by their enemies, were accused of holding the most detestable opinions; and many of them were put to death in the cruellest form, by the supporters of the Romish hierarchy. That the reader may perceive what these opinions were, the following account of them is given by Evervinus of Stainfield, in Germany, one of their avowed adversaries, who cannot be supposed to speak any thing in their favour.

“There have been lately some heretics discovered among us near Cologne,” says Evervinus, in a letter to Bernard, abbot of Clairval, dated about the year 1140, “though several of them

have, with satisfaction, returned again to the Church. One of their bishops, and his companions, openly opposed us in the assembly of the clergy and laity, in the presence of the Archbishop of Cologne, and of many of the nobility, defending their heresies by the words of Christ and the Apostles. Finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be fixed, upon which they would bring their teachers to a conference, promising to return to the Church, provided they found these teachers unable to answer their opponents; but that otherwise they would die rather than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent for three days, they were seized by the people, in their excess of zeal, and burnt to death! and, what is most astonishing, they came to the stake, and bare the torment of the fire, not only with patience, but even with joy. In this case, O holy father, were I present with you, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such constancy and courage as is rarely to be found among the most religious in the faith of Christ.

“Their heresy is this: They say that the

Church is only among themselves, because they alone of all men follow the steps of Christ, and imitate the Apostles, not seeking secular gains. 'We,' they say, 'the poor of Christ, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, do endure persecution with the Apostles and martyrs, though our lives are strict, laborious, devout, and holy, and though we seek only what is necessary for the support of the body, and live as men who are not of the world. But the apostolical dignity is corrupted, by engaging itself in secular affairs, while it sits in the chair of Peter.' They do not hold the baptism of infants to be a duty, alleging that passage of the gospel, whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved.* They put no

* We must take the account given us of the principles of the Cathari entirely from the pens of their enemies. Whether they rejected infant baptism or not, it is impossible now fully to determine. It is not unlikely, as Reiner himself, when speaking of another class of Waldenses, admits, that they only considered it as a thing not necessary; and as their pastors were frequently absent, they might choose to omit baptism rather than to commit their children to the priests,—whence might easily arise the suspicion that they rejected the baptism of infants altogether.—Allowing, however, that the Cathari did hold this opinion, it is proved to demonstration, as will be afterwards shown, that the Waldenses of Piedmont were decidedly of opinion, that *infants ought to be baptized*.

confidence in the intercession of saints ; and all things observed in the Church, which have not been established by Christ himself or his Apostles, they call superstitions. They do not admit of any purgatory after death ; but affirm, that as soon as the souls depart out of the bodies, they enter into rest or punishment, proving their assertion from that passage of Solomon, ‘ Which way soever the tree falls, whether to the south or north, there it lies ;’ whence they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased.—Those of them who have returned to our Church, told us that great numbers of their persuasion were scattered almost every where, and that among them were many of our clergy and monks.”

This letter roused the indignation of Bernard against the Cathari, and he lost no time in endeavouring to expose their “ heresies and hypocrisy” to the world. After throwing out innumerable invectives and false statements against a people, of whose manners he acknowledges he knew but little, with a strange inconsistency he adds : “ If you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christian ; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless ; and

what they speak, they prove by deeds. You may see a man, for the testimony of his faith, frequent the church, honour the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament. What more like a Christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man. He fasts much, and eats not the bread of idleness, but works with his hands for his support. The whole body, indeed, are rustic and illiterate, and all whom I have known of this sect are very ignorant."

Egbert, too, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Schonauge, tells us, that he had often disputed with those heretics, and that *they maintained their sentiments by the authority of Scripture*. "They are armed," says he, "with all those passages in holy Scripture which in any degree seem to favour their sentiments; with these they know how to defend themselves, and to oppose the Catholic faith; though they mistake entirely the true sense of Scripture, which cannot be discovered without great judgment. They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, to the great danger of the Church; for their words eat like a canker. In Germany we call them Cathari; in France, Tisserands,

(that is, weavers,) because many of them are of that occupation; and in Flanders, Piphles.—Concerning the souls of the dead, they hold this opinion, that at the very instant of their departure out of the body, they go to eternal bliss or endless misery, for they do not admit the belief of the Universal Church, that there are some purgatory punishments, with which the souls of some of the elect are tried for a time, on account of those sins from which they have not been purified by a plenary satisfaction in this life. On which account they think it superfluous and vain to give alms for the dead and to celebrate masses; and they scoff at our ringing of bells, which, nevertheless, for pious reasons, are used in our churches, to give others warning that they may pray for the dead, and to put them in mind of their own death. As for masses, they altogether despise them, regarding them as of no value; for they maintain that the sacerdotal order has entirely ceased in the Church of Rome and all other Catholic churches, and that true priests are only to be found in their sect."

During the twelfth century, the Cathari were exposed to many grievous sufferings. Galdinus, Archbishop of Milan, having for eight or nine

years persecuted them with great barbarity, fell a martyr to his own zeal in the year 1173, in consequence of an illness which he contracted through the excess of his vehemence in preaching against them.

A company of these poor despised people, consisting of about thirty men and women, appeared in England in 1159, and soon attracted the attention of the government by the singularity of their religious practices and opinions. They were immediately apprehended, and brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. Being interrogated concerning their religion, Gerard, their teacher, answered that they were Christians, and believed the doctrines of the Apostles. Upon a more particular enquiry, it appeared that they denied several of the received doctrines of the Church, such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of saints, &c.; and on refusing to abandon these *heretical* opinions, they were condemned as being incorrigible, and delivered over to the secular power to be punished. At the instigation of the clergy, the king, Henry II. commanded them to be branded with a red hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through the streets of Oxford, and then, deprived of part

of their clothes, to be turned out into the open fields, all persons being prohibited from affording them any shelter or relief, under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed in its utmost rigour; and it being the depth of winter, they all perished with cold and hunger!

The Cathari were not, however, the only class of Christians which, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, opposed the corruptions of the Romish Church. A sect called the Paterines, especially, though not wholly free from error, appear to have been the true followers of the Saviour; and, notwithstanding their subjection to severe persecution, they fearlessly exposed the superstitions and immoralities which abounded in the Christian world. In Languedoc, Italy, Flanders, Lorraine, Germany, and Spain, their principles were disseminated, and numerous converts were made to their opinions. "Here, then," says Dr Allix, "we have found a body of men in Italy, before the year 1026, five hundred years before the Reformation, who believed contrary to the opinions of the Church of Rome, and who highly condemned their errors."

There is a piece, entitled, "The Noble Lesson," which, from its language and spirit, has

evidently been the production of some individual connected with the Waldensian Church, and of which it may be proper to take some notice here. It is dated in the year 1100, and speaks of the Vaudois (or Waldenses) by name; adding, that they had been known in the valleys of Piedmont by this designation for upwards of seven hundred years. Supposing that the world was drawing near to an end, the writer exhorts his brethren to prayer, watching, and the renunciation of worldly goods. He speaks with energy on death and judgment; of the different issues of godliness and wickedness; and of the believer's hope of being received into glory.* The following is

* This valuable paper was one of the Waldensian manuscripts presented by Sir Samuel Morland to the public library of the University of Cambridge upon his return from his mission to Piedmont in 1658. The following is a translation of a few of the first lines, and those in which the Waldenses are mentioned by name, from which it appears that the treatise was meant for poetry :—

“ Oh ! brethren, hear a noble lesson.
We ought always to watch and pray,
For we see this world is near its end.
We ought to be earnest in doing good works,
For we see the world is coming to an end.
Eleven hundred years are fully completed,
Since it was written, The end of all things is at hand.”

the character which he gives of the Vaudois of his own time. "If a man," says he, "love those who desire to love God and Jesus Christ; if he will neither curse nor swear, not act deceitfully, nor live in lewdness and injustice, nor avenge himself of his enemies, they presently say such a one is a Vaudois; he deserves to be punished: and iniquitous methods are then used

We daily see the signs of this accomplishment,
In the increase of evil, and the decrease of good.
These are the perils that the Scripture mentions,
Which the Evangelists have recounted, and St Paul
has written,
That no man living knows when the end will come.
Therefore we should tremble, since we cannot be certain
Whether death will seize us to-day or to-morrow;
But when the judgment shall arrive,
Every one shall receive his just recompense.

* * * * *

The Scripture saith, and it is evident,
That if any man love those who are good, he must
needs love God and Jesus Christ.
Such an one will neither curse, swear, nor lie,
He will neither commit adultery, nor kill; he will
neither defraud his neighbour,
Nor avenge himself of his enemies;
Now such an one is termed a Waldensian, and worthy
to be punished,
And they find occasion by lies and by deceit,
To take from him that which he hath gotten by his
just labour."

to rob him of the fruits of his lawful industry. Such a one, however, consoles himself with the hope of eternal salvation."

There is also another manuscript at Cambridge, dated 1120, containing several sermons of the pastors of the Vaudois, or Waldenses of the Alpine valleys, concerning "Antichrist, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, and the Sacraments." In this work, the numerous abominations of Popery are fully and clearly stated.— "And since it hath pleased God," say they, "to make known these things to us by his servants, believing it to be his revealed will, according to the holy Scriptures, and admonished thereto by the command of the Lord, we do, both inwardly and outwardly, *depart from Antichrist*.—And these are the reasons of our separation, namely, it is for the truth's sake which we believe—for the knowledge which we have of the only true God, and the unity of the divine essence in Three Persons, a knowledge which flesh and blood cannot communicate—it is for the worship due to that only true God—for the love we owe him above all things—for the sanctification and honour which are due to him supremely, and above every name—for the lively hopes which we have

in God through Christ—for regeneration, and the renewing of our minds by faith, hope, and charity—for the worthiness of Jesus Christ, with the all-sufficiency of his grace and righteousness—for the communion of saints—the remission of sins—an holy conversation—for the sake of a faithful adherence to all the commands in the faith of Christ—for true repentance—for final perseverance, and everlasting life.”

“Such was the provision of divine grace,” says Milner, “to take out of a corrupt and idolatrous world of nominal Christians, a people formed for himself, who should show forth his praise, and who should provoke the rest of mankind by the light of true humility and holiness; a people, singularly separate from their neighbours in spirit, manners, and discipline; rude indeed, and illiterate, and not only discountenanced, but even condemned, by the few real good men who adhered altogether to the Romish Church; condemned, because continually misrepresented. I know not a more striking proof of that great truth of the Divine word, that, in the worst of times, the Church shall exist, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”

CHAP. III.

Peter Waldo of Lyons not the founder of the Vaudois Church—he opposes the Romish errors and corruptions—translates the Scriptures—is excommunicated—flies to Bohemia—the Waldenses are persecuted—edict issued against them by Pope Alexander—their increase—establishment of the Inquisition—progress of that iniquitous court—the Waldenses are the first objects of its cruelty—sufferings of the Albigenses—they are protected by Raymond, Count of Toulouse—proceedings of Innocent against Raymond—first Crusade against the Albigenses—dreadful slaughter of these faithful servants of Christ—treachery and cruelty of the Crusaders—total destruction of the inhabitants of Beziers—siege of Carcassone—cruelty of the Earl of Montfort.

ABOUT the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, attached himself to the

Waldenses*, at a period, happily, when the Papal hierarchy began to put its threats in execution against all who questioned its infallibility. The extensive mercantile engagements of this great and good man, gave ample opportunities of conversation with strangers on the idolatries of the Romish Church: and his influence and riches enabled him with more boldness to take a decided part in opposing its usurped authority. Having clearly seen, from a careful perusal of the Scriptures, the only way of salvation through faith in the righteousness of Christ, he was exceedingly desirous of communicating the same knowledge of divine truth to others. For this purpose he abandoned his mercantile pursuits, distributed his wealth among the poor; and, while they flocked to him to partake of his alms, he laboured to impress upon their minds the

* From what has been already stated, it must be evident that Peter Waldo was not the founder of the Waldensian Church. He was indeed, as we shall immediately see, its great patron and supporter, but from no part of his history can it be gathered that its origin is to be ascribed to him. We do not meet with his name in history previous to the year 1160, whereas it has been shown that the Church of Piedmont was separated from that of Rome long before that period, and its members well known by the name of *Waldenses*.

paramount importance of eternal concerns. But the ardent desire of Waldo to instruct the ignorant, did not stop here. The Vulgate Latin Bible was the only edition of the Scriptures at that time in Europe, and very few of the people being capable of reading it, this zealous reformer was led either to translate it himself, or procure it to be translated, into the vulgar tongue; thus having the honour of being the first who gave the word of God to the people in any modern language of Europe.* He also maintained, at his own expense, several persons who were employed to recite and expound his translation to the people; and hence, most probably, proceeded the opinion that he was the founder of the Waldenses,—an opinion which the Roman Catholics were glad to encourage; for it has ever been their object to represent the Waldenses as a sect of recent date, and to vindicate the antiquity of their own superstitions.

Being thus provided with copies of the Scrip-

* It was not the whole of the sacred volume, however, but parts of it only, which were at this time translated into the French language. The first entire Bible in the French language was translated and printed by Robert Olivetan, a native of the valleys, at Neufchatel, about the year 1535.

tures in their own language, the opponents of the Romish hierarchy were encouraged to declare themselves with greater boldness, and enabled to prove that the doctrines of their adversaries were in direct opposition to the divine word. The consequences of this may be easily imagined. So long as Waldo and his friends confined themselves to mere declamation against the errors of the Papal See, the thunders of Rome were suspended ; but so soon as they employed that invincible engine, the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were immediately anathematized and excommunicated. The Archbishop of Lyons had already, in 1172, peremptorily forbidden the new reformer " to teach any more, on pain of excommunication, and of being proceeded against as an heretic ;" and Waldo having replied, " that, though a layman, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned the salvation of his fellow creatures," Pope Alexander III. anathematized him and his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against him with the utmost rigour. Waldo was therefore compelled to leave Lyons ; and so fierce was the rage of the Romish adherents against him, that he had to become a

wanderer for the rest of his life. He took refuge at first in Dauphiny, with an intention, probably, of finding his way to the secluded valleys of Pragela or Angrogna, among the Waldenses of Piedmont. But finding that to be impossible, from the rage of persecution in those places through which he had to pass, he retired for a short time to Picardy, where his labours were attended with the most abundant success. Being driven also from thence, he proceeded to Germany, carrying with him the glad tidings of salvation ; and at length he settled at Bohemia, where he died, after having been engaged for nearly twenty years in publicly instructing the people. His doctrines, which were evidently those of the Bible, spread extensively in Alsace, along the Rhine, and in many other places ; and appear to have so harmonized with those of the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont, that, not without reason, they and his followers were henceforward considered the same.

Enraged at the rapid spread of doctrines which struck at the very root of Popery, the supporters of that Antichristian system had recourse to fire and sword, as the surest method of ridding themselves of adversaries so danger-

ous. Thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned in one fire in the city of Bingen, and eighteen in Mentz. The Bishops of Mentz and Strasburg were particularly active in endeavouring to crush the Waldenses; eighty persons in the latter city being committed to the flames.

Lucius III. the successor of Pope Alexander, published, in 1181, a severe edict against these unoffending Christians, from which the following is an extract:—"We declare," says he, "all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves 'the Poor of Lyons,' the Passignes, Josephites, Arnoldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema. And because some, under the form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the Apostle saith, assume to themselves the authority of preaching; whereas the same Apostle saith, 'How shall they preach except they be sent?' we therefore conclude under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who, either being forbid, or not sent, do notwithstanding presume to preach publicly or privately, without any authority received either from the Apostolic See, or from the bishops of their respective dioceses: As also all those who are not afraid to hold or teach any opinions con-

cerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, or any other sacraments of the Church, differing from what the holy Church of Rome doth preach and observe: And generally all those whom the same Church of Rome, or the several bishops in their dioceses, with the advice of their clergy, or the clergy themselves, in case of a vacancy of the see, shall judge to be heretics. And we likewise declare all entertainers and defenders of the said hereties, and those that have showed any favour or given any countenance to them, thereby strengthening them in their heresy, whether they be called 'comforted, believers, or perfect,' or with whatsoever superstitious name they disguise themselves, to be liable to the same sentence.—And whosoever shall be notoriously convicted of these errors, if a clergyman, or one that endeavours to conceal himself under any religious order, he shall be immediately deprived of all prerogative of the church orders, and so being divested of all office and benefice, be delivered to the secular power to be punished according to demerit, unless immediately upon his being detected, he voluntarily returns to the truth of the Catholic

faith, and publicly abjures his errors, at the discretion of the bishop of the diocese, and makes suitable satisfaction. And as for a layman who shall be found guilty, either publicly or privately, of any of the aforesaid crimes, unless by abjuring his heresy, and making satisfaction, he immediately returns to the orthodox faith, we decree him to be left to the sentence of the secular judge, to receive condign punishment, according to the quality of the offence."

This and other rigorous decrees which were issued against the Waldenses and Albigenses, obliged many of them in the south of France to take refuge in other kingdoms. The valleys of Piedmont,* Bohemia, and even Spain, furnished, for some time, asylums to these persecuted people. Numerous congregations of them were also formed in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and in Italy, Germany, and Britain; and in every kingdom of Europe to which they

* The Vaudois in these valleys, for some time subsequent to this period, enjoyed a comparative tranquillity; the attention of the Papal court being almost entirely engaged in devising measures for the suppression of the Albigenses in the south of France. It is necessary, therefore, to give some account of the sufferings of the Albigenses, previous to turning our attention to Piedmont.

emigrated, they were the means, under Divine Providence, of leading multitudes to a saving acquaintance with the pure doctrines of the gospel of Christ. Some of them having repaired to Arragon, King Ildefonsus published, in 1194, a severe edict, in which he commanded the Waldenses, whom he denominated "adversaries to the cross of Christ, violators and corrupters of the Christian religion, and the avowed enemies of his kingdom," to be banished from his dominions; and gave orders, that if any of them remained after a stated day, they should be "spoiled, beaten, and shamefully ill treated."

These measures were, however, quite insignificant, compared with the bloody edicts, and their barbarous execution, which speedily followed, for the annihilation of the people of God. Innocent III. who ascended the pontifical throne in the year 1192, watched over the Waldenses with a jealous eye, and being destitute alike of justice and of pity, he determined to punish, in the most summary manner, all who held opinions different from those of the Romish hierarchy. He accordingly charged his ministers to burn the leaders, to disperse the flocks, and to confiscate the property of every one who did

not implicitly believe in all the dogmas of that apostate Church ; in consequence of which, many of the Waldensian pastors in 1198, and the years following, perished in the flames at Nevers, and other places of France.

The province of Narbonne was particularly the object of Innocent's attention. In 1193, he sent into it Guy and Regnier, two monks of Citeaux, who may be considered as having laid the foundation of the inquisition. Their commission was to discover and pursue heresy, being invested for that purpose with all the authority of the Holy See. Regnier was subsequently appointed the Pope's legate in the four provinces of Embrun, Aix, Arles, and Narbonne ; but having fallen sick, Innocent joined to him Peter of Castelnau, " whose zeal," says Sismondi, " more furious than that of his predecessors, is worthy of those sentiments, which the very name of the inquisition inspires.—The mission of the Pope's commissaries or inquisitors," continues the same author, " was not, however, limited to scrutinizing the consciences of the heretics, confiscating their property, banishing, or sending them to the stake ; they traversed the province, accompanied by a number of friars,

who arrived successively to their aid ; they preached and disputed against those who had wandered from the faith ; and especially, when the lord of the place favoured the new opinions, not being able to employ force, they had recourse to the power of their disputations."

About the year 1204, two new orders of regulars were instituted, namely, those of St Dominic and St Francis. To the first of these falsely denominated *saints*, the erection of that horrid court, "the Inquisition," is ascribed. "It was not, however, at first on the same footing on which it was afterwards settled, and on which it has since continued. The first inquisitors were vested with a double capacity, not very happily conjoined in the same persons : one was that of preachers, to convince the heretics by argument ; the other that of persecutors, to instigate magistrates to employ every possible method of extirpating the refractory,—that is, all who were so unreasonable as not to be convinced by the profound reasoning of those merciless fanatics, and wretched sophisters.—The inquisitors at first had no tribunals, they merely inquired after heretics, their number, strength, and riches. When they had detected them,

they informed the bishops, who, at that time, had the sole power of judging in ecclesiastical affairs, urging them to anathematize, banish, or otherwise chastise such heretical persons as they brought before them. Sometimes they excited princes to arm their subjects against them, and at other times they inflamed the rabble, whom they themselves headed, to take up arms, and unite in extirpating them."

This iniquitous court soon extended its authority, and enlarged the number of its tribunals in every kingdom of Europe, where any of the people were suspected of heresy. Every where its progress was marked with blood. Racks, dungeons, and flames, awaited the miserable beings who were dragged within its walls; and, under the cloak of religion, all the malice and ingenuity of hell were manifested by its supporters, in their barbarous proceedings towards their unhappy victims.*

* "The form of proceeding of the inquisitors," says Voltaire, in treating of the inquisition of Spain, "is an infallible way to destroy whosoever the inquisitors wish. The prisoners are not confronted with the accuser or informer. Nor is there any informer, or witness, who is not listened to. A public convict, a notorious malefactor, an infamous person, a common prostitute, a child, are in the holy office, though no where else, credible

The Waldenses were the first objects of inquisitorial cruelty. By the aid of the civil power, multitudes of them were put to the cruellest of deaths, for their steadfast adherence "to the word of God, and the testimony of Christ." Notwithstanding all the efforts of the

accusers and witnesses. Even the son may depose against the father, the wife against her husband. This procedure, unheard of till the institution of this court, makes the whole kingdom tremble. Suspicion reigns in every breast. Friendship and quietness are at an end. The brother dreads his brother, the father the son."— In addition to the judges, (often the most abandoned of characters,) whose number generally was three, and who are called *Lords of the Inquisition*, there were many *Familiars*, who mingled with all societies, and acted the part of spies and informers. No person durst open his mouth against this court, as he knew not but some of the familiars might give information, and the officers of the inquisition drag him within the walls of their prison, from which few ever returned. Such, indeed, was the terror which this court inspired, that parents delivered up their children, and husbands their wives, to be conveyed to its dungeons, without daring to murmur, lest they should share a similar fate. All who were imprisoned by this tribunal, were given up as dead; for although they might be perfectly innocent, yet the inquisitors seldom permitted any to pass without the walls of their prison, lest they should make known to the people the deeds of darkness which were practised in these habitations of horrid cruelty.

But for a full account of this infamous and bloody tribunal, the reader is referred to the "History of the Inquisition," published by the same author.

Papal See, however, the heresy of the Vaudois remained as far as ever from being subdued. Enraged at thus being unable to destroy the enemies of the Church, by the engines already in operation, the blood-thirsty Innocent had recourse to another and a more summary method of exterminating a people, of whom it may truly be said, "the world was not worthy." This was nothing less than open war, to assist in which, all the Romish princes and nobles were invited to take up arms, and abbots and priests were commissioned to preach throughout Christendom a crusade against the Albigenses. These heralds of cruelty promised paradise, and the remission of sins, to all who should take the cross in this *holy* war, and serve against the Albigenses for forty days; together with the utmost extent of indulgence, which former Popes had granted to those who laboured for the deliverance of the holy land.* Nay, so extensively

* The favourite text of these preachers, was Psalm xciv. 16. "Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" which they applied somewhat in the manner following. "You see, most dear brethren, how great the wickedness of the heretics is, and how much mischief they do in the world. You see also the tenderness of the Church, and by how many pious methods she labours

had the doctrines of the Albigenses spread, that the author of the great Belgian Chronicle says; that "the error of the Albigenses prevailed to that degree, that it had infested as much as a thousand cities, and if it had not been repressed by the swords of the faithful, I think that it would have corrupted the whole of Europe."

To preserve some appearance of decency, the Court of Rome at first pretended that nothing would give the Church greater satisfaction, than the prevention of bloodshed, provided the heretics could be reclaimed by persuasion. Relying too implicitly on these assurances, the Albigenses proposed to hold a public conference with their opponents, where the points in dispute might be discussed by an appeal to Scripture, on condition that the business should be conducted with impartiality and propriety. For the sake of amusing

to reclaim them. But with them they all prove ineffectual, and they all fly to the secular power for their defence. Therefore our holy mother, the Church, though with great reluctance and grief, calls together against them the Christian army. If, then, you have any zeal for the faith; if you are touched with any concern for the glory of God; if you would reap the benefit of this great indulgence, (viz. paradise and the pardon of all sin,) come and receive the sign of the cross, and join yourselves to the army of the crucified Saviour! !"

the Albigenses till their own plans were ripe for execution, the bishops acceded to the proposal, and the conference took place in 1206 near Carcassone. But while the parties were engaged in dispute, the army of the crusaders advanced, and decided the controversy, according to the custom of the Romish Church, by the slaughter of an immense number of these unsuspecting people.

Raymond VI. count of Toulouse, and several others of the French nobility, having afforded protection to the Albigenses, multitudes of these persecuted Christians took up their residence in the country of Toulouse. But Raymond's conduct gave great offence to the sovereign Pontiff, and Innocent evinced the utmost solicitude to prevail with him to expel the heretics from his dominions. For this purpose he sent his legate, Peter of Castelnau, to the Count, requiring him to sign a treaty, by which the united forces of the Roman Catholics were to be employed in their extermination. But all his entreaties to induce Raymond to banish so great a number of his peaceable subjects, to persecute them, or to admit into his state an army that was to pillage or kill all those whom the priests should point out as heretics, proving fruitless, Castelnau excommunicated Raymond, and laid his country under an

interdict. Innocent lost no time in confirming the sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced by his legate. He even wrote himself to the Count, on the 20th May 1207, beginning his letter in these haughty terms :—" If we could open your heart, we should find, and would point out to you, the detestable abominations that you have committed ; but as it is harder than the rock, it is in vain to strike it with the words of salvation : we cannot penetrate it. Pestilential man ! what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the divine laws, by protecting the enemies of the faith ? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the

- temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes ?"

Alarmed at these menaces, Raymond at length consented to purchase peace with his enemies, by engaging to exterminate the Albigenses from his states ; but Peter of Castelnau, judging that he did not proceed in the work with adequate zeal, met the Count at St Gilles, and, after reproaching him with perjury, with being a favourer of heretics, and a tyrant, he again pronounced on him the sentence of excommunication. One of

Raymond's gentlemen, who was present at this violent scene, having met Castelnau, on the 15th of January 1208, at the side of the Rhone, entered into a dispute with him respecting heresy and its punishments. Castelnau answered him in language so menacing and insulting, that the gentleman, already irritated by the quarrel with his lord, and now feeling himself personally offended, stabbed him with his poignard, and fled from the country.

The intelligence of this assassination filled Innocent with the most ungovernable rage ; and though Raymond protested his own innocence, and even exerted himself to the utmost to apprehend the assassin, yet his Holiness immediately published a bull, in which he declared that it was the devil who had instigated his principal minister, Raymond, Count of Toulouse, against the legate of the Holy See. He laid under an interdict all the places which should afford a refuge to the murderers of Castelnau ; he demanded that the Count should be publicly anathematized in all the churches : " And as," he added, " following the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers, that *we must not observe faith towards those who keep not faith towards God, or who are se-*

parated from the communion of the faithful, we discharge, by apostolic authority, all those who believe themselves bound towards this Count, by any oath, either of alliance or of fidelity; we permit every Catholic man, saving the right of his principal lord, to pursue his person, to occupy and retain his territories, *especially for the purpose of exterminating heresy.*"

Raymond, naturally mild and timid, was exceedingly desirous of saving himself and his subjects from the fury of their enemies; and, taking along with him his nephew, Raymond Rôger, he went to Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, whom the Pope had made leader of the crusade, in order if possible to avert the threatened storm. Arnold received them in a most haughty manner, and after carelessly listening to their protestations of innocence, and their petition to be heard before they were condemned, he told them, that if they wished to obtain any mercy, they must address themselves to the Pope. Raymond Roger immediately perceived there was no alternative but to arm themselves in their own defence; but his uncle, petrified with terror, offered to submit to any conditions, rather than draw the crusaders into his states. He accordingly agreed to make

common cause with that fanatical army in their efforts to exterminate the heretics, to surrender to them seven of his castles as a pledge of his sincerity, and to submit to whatever judgment the legate should be pleased to pronounce upon him. After making these concessions, he was conducted into the church of St Gilles, with a cord about his neck, and his shoulders naked, and there severely scourged with a whip, the legate answering his remonstrances by telling him, that though he himself had not killed Castelnau, yet the murder had taken place in his dominions. Having then been led naked about Castelnau's grave, as a matter of favour, he was allowed to take the cross against the heretics !

Raymond Roger, on the other hand, was more bold and determined, and instead of yielding an implicit obedience to the orders of the Court of Rome, he retired into his states, and immediately commenced preparations for resisting the attacks of his enemies. His uncle Raymond VI. who had been compelled to agree to lead the army of the crusaders against him, was so overwhelmed with grief at this part of the stipulation with the legate, that he solicited leave to take a journey to Rome, for the purpose of humbling himself

before the sovereign Pontiff. This request could not be denied; and the Count left the army, choosing any degradation which might be put on himself, rather than continue with it, "to be a spectator of the murder of thousands of peaceable and virtuous men, and the ruin of his own nephew."

In the meantime, the Popish army, consisting of upwards of a hundred thousand men, entered the territories of Raymond Roger, attacked the Albigenses, took possession of their towns, filled the streets with slaughter and blood, and consigned multitudes of both sexes whom they had taken prisoners, to the flames. Even on the tender infants these butchers had no mercy, they too being cast into the same fires in which their parents were consumed. But Raymond Roger had chiefly calculated on the defence of his two great cities, Beziers and Carcassone; and having made provision in the former of these cities for repelling the attacks of the enemy, he took up his residence in the latter. When the crusaders arrived in the neighbourhood of Beziers, about the middle of July 1209, the fate of that city was easily foreseen. Sensible of the danger of his people, and grieved for the calamities which were ready

to fall upon them, Raymond Roger hastened to the legate, and throwing himself at his feet, earnestly supplicated that the city might be spared, or at least that the innocent might not suffer indiscriminately with the guilty. He declared his own adherence to the Church of Rome, asserted his innocence of heresy, though there might be heretics in his dominions, and pointed out the injustice of punishing him and the other Romanists with the Albigenses. To all this the legate haughtily replied, that he must defend himself in the best way he could, for he should show him no mercy.

Finding the legate inflexible, the young Viscount informed the inhabitants of his ill success, and of the only conditions upon which pardon could be obtained, namely, that all the Albigenses should either abjure their religion, or that they should be delivered into the hands of the Popish army. To the first of these proposals only, the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Beziers lent an ear, and used every entreaty with the Albigenses to induce them to submit to the religion of Rome. The latter, however, replied, "That they never could consent to purchase a prolongation of the present perishing life, at the

price of renouncing their faith ; that they were fully persuaded God could, if he pleased, protect and defend them ; but they were as fully persuaded, that if it were his good pleasure to be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a high honour conferred upon them to lay down their lives for righteousness sake ; that they preferred displeasing the Pope, who could only kill their bodies, much more to incurring the displeasure of God, who could destroy both soul and body at once ; that they hoped never to be ashamed of, nor forsake a faith by which they had been taught the knowledge of Christ and his righteousness, nor, at the hazard of eternal death, barter it for a religion which annihilated the merits of the Saviour, and rendered his righteousness of none effect. They therefore left it to the Roman Catholics and the Viscount to make the best terms they could for themselves, but entreated that they would not promise any thing in *their* behalf inconsistent with their duty as Christians."

The Roman Catholic inhabitants next had recourse to the legate, representing their uniform attachment to the Romish faith ; but that sanguinary ecclesiastic declared with an oath, that

unless every individual within the walls of Beziers acknowledged his guilt, and submitted to the judgment of the Holy See, no mercy would be extended to any. To this tyrannical and sanguinary message, the citizens nobly replied, "Tell the legate that our city is good and strong,—that the Lord will not fail to succour us in our great necessities, and that rather than commit the baseness demanded, we would eat our own children." The rage of the legate, on receiving this answer, was unbounded; and orders were immediately given to make an assault on the city. The shock was tremendous; and notwithstanding the bravery of the inhabitants, they were soon overpowered by the superior numbers of the enemy. The scene which followed is truly appalling. No sooner were the crusaders in possession of the city than a scene of bloodshed and cruelty followed, of which the most uncivilized barbarians might have been ashamed. As the murderers were entering the gates, some of the knights inquired of the legate how they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics; to which Arnold blasphemously replied, "*Kill them all,—the Lord will know well those who are his.*" So dreadful was the slaughter of the Albigenses on this occa-

sion, that seven thousand dead bodies were counted in one of the churches of the city, and in all the others a spectacle equally lamentable was exhibited. When the murderers had completed their awful work, they set fire to the city, and consumed it to ashes. The number of victims who fell a prey at that time to Popish cruelty is differently stated, some historians making it amount to sixty thousand, while others reduce it to twenty-three thousand; but whichever of these numbers is correct, we see, in the whole transaction, the "wrath of the dragon" displayed in a manner the most fearful against the seed of the Church of Christ.

Still unsatiated with blood, the crusaders proceeded to Carcassone, and sat down before that city on the 1st of August. This city was much stronger by nature than Beziers; its fortifications had been augmented, and it was defended by a numerous garrison. The Popish army, however, was now increased to upwards of three hundred thousand men; and an attack having been made on one of the suburbs, after an obstinate resistance it was taken. The assailants then proceeded to the attack of the second suburb, but they were repulsed with very great loss. For eight days

the besieged continued to defend it with success; but they at last evacuated it, and retired into the city.

The King of Arragon, who had lately joined the army of the crusaders, having offered himself as a mediator between the contending parties, the young Viscount readily accepted the proposal. But the legate, who was averse to any peace which should suspend the massacres, took care to propose conditions to which every generous mind would disdain to accede. These were, that Raymond Roger "might quit the city with twelve others, and that the remainder of the citizens and soldiers should be abandoned to his pleasure." "Rather than do what the legate demands of me," replied the Viscount, "I would suffer myself to be flayed alive. He shall not have the least of my company at his mercy. I am resolved to defend both myself and my subjects by every means that God has put in my power."

No sooner had this message been returned to the legate, than he gave orders to take the city by assault. But, notwithstanding the immense multitude which rushed forward to the walls, and their vigorous efforts to render themselves masters of the place, the repulse they met with

from the besieged was so determined, that they fell by thousands, and the ditches which surrounded the city were filled with their dead bodies. The attack was many times renewed, but the assailants were at last obliged to retreat with immense loss. The period of forty days, besides, for which the crusaders had enlisted was now finished, and multitudes of the legate's forces abandoned the enterprise, and returned to their own countries. Alarmed at these discouraging symptoms, the legate had recourse to a stratagem, so unworthy and perfidious, that its only apology can be, that it was the device of a *Romish ecclesiastic*. He employed a gentleman related to the Viscount who happened to be with him, to enter into the city and renew the negotiation. Raymond Roger himself was exceedingly desirous of an honourable capitulation ; and having been persuaded by the gentleman to accompany him to the legate, and obtaining at the same time, both from Arnold and from the lords of the army, the most complete guarantee for his safety and liberty, which the crusaders subsequently confirmed by solemn promises and oaths, he imprudently quitted the city, attended by three hundred knights, and arrived at the legate's tent. After having

nobly and powerfully defended his conduct, he declared that he awaited Arnold's decision, and was ready to hear the conditions that he should propose for the capitulation of the city. Deeply imbued with the faithless spirit of his master, the legate immediately told him, "that he was himself a prisoner until the city was taken!" Entreaties and remonstrances were of no avail. Arnold ordered the young Viscount and all his knights to be arrested, and committed to the custody of Simon, Earl of Montfort.

By this base act of treachery, the legate imagined that he would strike terror into the minds of the besieged, and force them to surrender. But while they mourned over the fate of their lord, Divine Providence delivered them from falling into the hands of their blood-thirsty foes. Some of the older citizens mentioned a subterraneous passage, which led to the castle of Carcassonne. This passage, after some search, having been found, husbands, wives, and children, the decrepid and the aged, with sorrow left their houses and goods, carrying with them provisions for a few days only. They commenced their journey at night, and next morning arrived at the castle, on which they dis-

persed themselves through different parts of the country, betaking themselves to those cities, the majority of the inhabitants in which were Albigenses.

On the morning following, the crusaders were astonished at not seeing any person on the walls of the city, and some time elapsed ere they were convinced that it was entirely deserted. Having at length entered, the legate took possession of the spoil in the name of the Church, and forbade every person, under the severest penalty, to carry off the smallest part of the plunder. He was, however, extremely mortified at the flight of the Albigenses; and wishing at the same time to conceal his own perfidy, he issued a proclamation, declaring that he had permitted the inhabitants to quit the city; but that the honour of the Church rendered it necessary, that an example should be made of some of them. In addition to the three hundred knights who had been imprisoned with the Viscount, a number of prisoners had been taken in the neighbouring country by the crusaders. Out of these, the legate chose four hundred and fifty persons, the majority of whom were burned, and the remainder hanged!

Raymond Roger, too, was poisoned in prison not long afterwards.

The provinces which had been conquered by the legate were bestowed as a gift on Simon, Earl of Montfort, a person who was indeed skilful as a soldier, but of a cruel and perfidious disposition, and a fanatic in point of religion. Having attacked, and taken a number of castles, Montfort put to death all the Albigenses who fell into his hands. He then turned his arms against Albigeois, the dominions of Raymond Roger, Count of Foix, and soon obtained possession of several parts of that country, where cruelties equally revolting to humanity were committed on the unoffending people of God. But being at length deserted by numbers of the crusaders, who had become weary of so protracted a war, Montfort agreed to a treaty with the Count of Foix, which, for a few weeks towards the close of the year 1209, suspended the conflict.

CHAP. IV.

Second Crusade against the Albigenses—horrid proceedings of Montfort and the Popish Army at Minerva, Termes, and La Vaur—Council of Lateran—the Albigenses nearly annihilated in France—third Crusade—siege of the castle of Marmande—treachery of the besiegers, and cruel massacre of the besieged—siege of Avignon—dreadful sufferings of the inhabitants of Toulouse—the Waldenses subjected to persecution in different countries—their distressed condition—attestation by a Popish historian to the cruelties which were inflicted on them.

HAVING desolated a country which was considered the principal residence of the Albigenses, and massacred thousands of its peaceable inhabitants, we might have expected that the votaries of Rome would have been satiated with human blood. But it is long since the Spirit of inspiration predicted, that nothing less would serve the Popish Church,

that "mystical Babylon," than being "*drunk* with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." It would be painful to enter into a detail of the relentless barbarities and heart-rending cruelties which, on the renewal of the war, were committed on the Albigenses by the Earl of Montfort. An outline only of a few of his atrocities, and of the sufferings to which he subjected these unoffending people, is all that can be given here.

A fresh supply of crusaders having arrived in the conquered provinces, to assist the Earl of Montfort in exterminating the heretics, his treaty with the Count of Foix was violated very soon after it had been made. For some time, however, the Earl, instead of adding to his acquisitions, found himself deprived of a number of places in the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassone, of which he had already taken possession. But new levies of crusaders daily arriving from the north of France, where the monks had recommenced their preaching, the haughty Earl set no bounds to his ambition and cruelty. Having attacked and carried several castles, all the inhabitants in which were put to the sword, he laid siege, in the beginning of June 1210, to Minerva,

a place strongly fortified by nature, and situated in the territory of Narbonne, on the confines of Spain. A great majority of the inhabitants of this castle were Albigenses, and so completely had the Popish worship been disregarded in it, that Montfort himself declared that "no mass had been sung in it for thirty years." For seven weeks the besieged defended themselves with great valour ; but on the 22d of July the crusaders obtained possession of the place. Adding insult to cruelty, the infamous Montfort, at the very time he had given orders to collect an enormous quantity of dry wood to burn the inhabitants, sent a Popish ecclesiastic to offer pardon to all who should embrace the Romish faith. "Resisting, however, unto blood," the Albigenses un-animously exclaimed, "We have renounced the Church of Rome ; and neither death nor life will make us abandon the opinions that we have embraced." Fire was accordingly set to the pile, and by Montfort's orders one hundred and eighty men and women were committed to the flames ! These martyrs died stedfast in the truth, praising God that he had counted them worthy to suffer death for their Redeemer's sake.

The crusaders next laid siege to Termes, or

Preissan, on the frontiers of Roussillon. This castle was extremely strong, and commanded by Raymond of Termes, who for upwards of four months successfully repelled the attacks of the enemy. But finding it to be impossible to defend the place much longer, the inhabitants abandoned it on the morning of the 23d of November, and fled to the mountains; whither they were pursued by the greater part of the Popish army, and many of them overtaken and killed on the spot. The siege of the castle of La Vaur followed the taking of Termes. After sustaining a siege of six months, this strongly fortified place was taken by assault on the 3d day of May 1211; "and the only care of the Earl of Montfort was, to prevent the crusaders from instantly falling upon the inhabitants, and to beseech them rather to make prisoners, *that the priests of the living God might not be deprived of their promised joys !!*" "Very soon," adds a monkish writer, who was an eye-witness of the whole transaction, "they dragged out of the castle Aimery, lord of Montreal, and other knights to the number of eighty. The noble Count (Montfort) immediately ordered them to be hanged upon the gallows; but as soon as Aimery, the stoutest

among them, was hanged, the gallows fell ; for, in their great haste, they had not well fixed it in the earth. The Count, seeing that this would produce great delay, ordered the rest to be massacred ; and the pilgrims, receiving the order with the greatest avidity, very soon massacred them all upon the spot. The lady of the castle, who was sister to Aimery, and an execrable heretic, was, by the Count's order, thrown into a pit, which was filled up with stones ; afterwards, our pilgrims collected the innumerable heretics that the castle contained, *and burned them alive with the utmost joy !*"—Reader, mark the horrid triumphs of the Church of Rome !

The success which attended the arms of the crusaders filled the Court of Foix and the Earl of Toulouse with alarm ; and having collected a considerable force, these two noblemen not only checked the career of the Earl of Montfort, but soon stripped him of the greater part of his conquests. In a general engagement, however, which took place at Muret, near the Garonne, on the 12th of September 1213, they were completely defeated ; and the crusaders, pursuing their victory, put to the sword, or drowned in the Garonne, the greater part of the opposing army.

In the meantime a General Council was assembled at Lateran, by Pope Innocent III. in 1215. Having enacted many decrees against those whom they denominated heretics, that assembly heard and rejected the plea of the Earl of Toulouse and his son Raymond, to restore to them their dominions which had been usurped by Simon, Earl of Montfort. The usurper was confirmed in the possession of all the countries which had been conquered by the crusaders ; and a small sum only was allotted to the Earl of Raymond, with an order to retire to some private place, till he should give sufficient proofs of his repentance. Upon this decree the Earl went into Spain, and his son into Provence, in order to raise forces to prosecute the war against Montfort.

“ We have thus traced,” to use the words of Sismondi, “ the total extinction of the first reformation. The slaughter,” he adds, “ had been so prodigious, the massacres so universal, the terror so profound, and of so long duration, that the Church appeared to have completely obtained her object. The worship of the reformed Albigenses had every where ceased. All teaching was become impossible. Almost all the doctors

of the new Church had perished in a frightful manner; and the very small number of those who had succeeded in escaping the crusaders, had sought an asylum in the most distant regions, and were able to avoid new persecutions, only by preserving the most absolute silence respecting their doctrines and their ancient destinies. The private believers, who had not perished by the fire and the sword, or who had not withdrawn by flight from the scrutiny of the Inquisition, knew that they could only save their lives by burying their secret in their own bosoms. For them there were no more sermons, no more prayers, no more Christian communion, no more instructions. The triumph appeared so complete, that the persecutors, in the confidence of their victory, became divided, made war reciprocally against each other, and were ruined. But this momentary interruption to the persecution served only to render it the more destructive. The momentary toleration in Albigeois recalled thither the preachers who had escaped the first massacre, and involved them all in a second."

The Earl of Toulouse and his son Raymond having raised an army for the recovery of their

dominions from the Earl of Montfort, not only prosecuted the war with success, but actually recovered Toulouse, the capital of the country. While Montfort was endeavouring to retake that city, he was killed by a stone thrown from the wall, in consequence of which Amaury, Montfort's son, was obliged to raise the siege, on the 25th of July 1218.

Favouring the pretensions of Amaury to retain possession of the countries which his father had conquered, Honorius III., who had succeeded Innocent III. in the Papal See, directed that another crusade should be formed against the Albigenses. For this purpose he sent the following rescript into every province of France:—
“ We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, and of whatsoever sect, with their favourers, receivers, and defenders ; and, moreover, all those who cause any edicts or customs contrary to the liberty of the Church to be observed, unless they remove them from their public records in two months after the publication of this sentence. Also we excommunicate the makers and writers of those statutes, and moreover, all governors, consuls, rulers, and counsellors of places where such statutes and customs shall be pub-

lished and kept, and all those who shall presume to pass judgment, or to publish such judgments as shall be made according to them." Honorius also wrote to Louis VII. king of France, exhorting that monarch to take up arms in defence of the Church. "It is the command of God," said his Holiness, "who says, If thou shalt hear say in any one of thy cities which the Lord thy God hath given thee to dwell there, saying, Let us go and serve other gods, which ye have not known, thou shalt smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword. Although you are under many obligations already to God, from the great benefits already received from him, from whom comes every good and perfect gift, yet you ought to reckon yourself more especially obliged courageously to exert yourself for him, against the subverters of the faith, by whom he is blasphemed, and manfully to defend the Catholic purity, which many in those parts, adhering to the doctrines of devils, are known to have cast off."—It is worthy of remark here, that the ambitious and perfidious Roman Pontiffs, and their no less perfidious supporters, uniformly use, and grossly pervert, the words of Scripture to sanction their most detestable and bloody

deeds. "One would imagine," says a late writer, "that they had only studied the Bible to make sacrilegious applications of it."

Louis, who did not yield in fanaticism, or in hatred against the Albigenes, to any of the monks, immediately began to collect an army of crusaders, at the head of which he placed himself, and joined Amaury, in 1219, in besieging the castle of Marmande. After holding out for some time, the besieged offered to surrender, provided they were granted their lives. "I will receive you to mercy," replied Louis, "and suffer you to go away, carrying only your bodies with you." These conditions being of course accepted, the gates of the place were thrown open to the crusaders; but instead of fulfilling their agreement with the inhabitants, the Bishop of Saintes advised Louis "immediately to kill and burn them as heretics." His advice was, alas! but too implicitly followed, for all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of five thousand, were massacred!

The crusaders next bent all their forces against Toulouse, before which Louis arrived on the 16th of June. The Pope's legate had sworn, "That in the said Toulouse should remain neither man,

woman, boy, nor girl, but that all should be put to death, without sparing old or young; and that in all the city there should not remain one stone above another, but all should be demolished and thrown down." The besieged, however, defended themselves with so much bravery, and so successfully repelled the assaults of the enemy, that Louis was compelled to raise the siege on the 1st of August, and to retire with precipitation.

For some time the absurd project of a new crusade to the holy land, engaged the attention of the Court of Rome, and suspended the war against the Albigenses. That crusade, however, being at length abandoned, a new one was formed against the already almost annihilated opponents of the Popish Church. On the 6th of June 1226, accordingly, Louis VIII. of France arrived at Avignon, with an army of fifty thousand horsemen. For three months the besieged defended the city with the greatest bravery, during which time thousands of the French army perished in the conflict. Disease and famine, besides, raged in so fearful a manner among the crusaders, that Matthew Paris, the monk of St Albans, makes the number of those who perished.

while prosecuting this siege, amount to twenty thousand men. Despairing of reducing the city by force, the Pope's legate, as usual, had recourse to fraud ; and having given his oath that he only wished their welfare, the citizens consented, on the 12th of September, to receive him and the lords of the army within their walls, for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the capitulation. But no sooner had they opened their gates, than the whole army of the crusaders rushed forward, and, seizing the inhabitants, they bound them in chains, plundered their houses, put numbers of them to death, and demolished the towers and walls of the city.

Wearied out with the war, Amaury had previously resigned to Louis all his possessions and pretensions in the country of the Albigenses ; in recompense for which the French monarch had made him Constable of France. This step ultimately proved the ruin of the Albigenses. Though Louis died soon after the taking of Avignon, and Louis IX. his son, was a minor, yet the capacity of the regent, the Queen-mother, was found equal to the work of aggrandizing the crown at the expense of the Albigenses. Toulouse was again besieged, and taken in 1229, by

a fanatical army, and Raymond, the young Earl, was compelled to submit to terms the most humiliating and degrading. Thus, after nearly thirty years of cruel persecution, the Albigenses were almost either wholly destroyed,* or driven from their country. During all that period blood never ceased to flow, nor the flames to devour their victims, in Albigeois and the surrounding country; and the few who escaped the edge of the sword fled for refuge to the valleys of Piedmont, or took up their abode in Austria, Bohemia, and other kingdoms to which the horrors of persecution had not yet extended.

But besides those who fell in war, or were murdered by the crusaders, that horrid engine of Popish cruelty, the inquisition, was continually at work, making dreadful havoc among the disciples of Christ. From 1206 to 1228, the numbers which were apprehended were so immense, that, in the latter year, the Archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, found it necessary to intercede with the inquisitors, to defer for a little their work of imprisonment, until the Pope should

* It is computed that upwards of a million of the Albigenses perished, within three years, by the hands of the crusaders.

be apprised of the numbers already confined, it being impossible to procure a sufficient quantity of materials to build prisons in which to contain them. But these courts were not content with *imprisoning* heretics; the rack and the flames were daily employed, as the most summary methods of ridding themselves of all who had incurred their diabolical vengeance.

To render this horrid court permanent, and to subject it wholly to the power of the ecclesiastics, a Council was assembled at Toulouse in 1229. After agreeing on the manner in which heretics who fell into their hands were to be treated, that infamous assembly decreed that the people should be prohibited from reading the Bible. "We prohibit," says the 14th canon, "laymen from having the books of the Old and New Testaments; only they who out of devotion desire it, may have a psalter, a breviary, or the hours of the blessed Mary; *but we forbid them, in the most express manner, to have the above-mentioned books translated into the vulgar tongue.*" It is true that, *indirectly*, the Church of Rome had for a long time acted up to the spirit of this canon; but this appears to be the first instance of a *direct* prohibition of the people reading the word

of God. "What an honour," says Milner, "was this canon to the cause of the Albigenses! What a confession of guilt on the side of the Romanists! The people of God were thus, at length, for the most part, exterminated in Toulouse, and found no other resource than, by patient continuance in well-doing, to commit themselves to their God and Saviour. Antichrist, for the present, was visibly triumphant in the southwest parts of France, and the witnesses, 'clothed in sackcloth,' there consoled themselves with the hope of heavenly rest, being deprived of all prospect of earthly enjoyments."

Although Raymond and other powerful chiefs strongly protected their Waldensian subjects, it does not appear that any of them either understood or embraced their principles. Political motives, mixed no doubt with feelings of commiseration for a people who were harmless, peaceable, and loyal, induced these princes to unite in endeavouring to defend the Albigenses from the arms of the crusaders. But being Roman Catholics, they frequently suffered themselves to become the dupes of the Papal See; and hence they were at length made to feel, that, notwithstanding all their submissions, the "tender mer-

cies" of the Roman Pontiff and of his emissaries were most cruel.

But though the greater number of the Albigenses in France had perished, and though those of them who escaped had been driven into exile, yet their doctrines were as far as ever from being eradicated. Their dispersion scattered throughout Europe those sparks of divine truth, which the inquisitors still laboured to extinguish, and the Court of Rome beheld with alarm the rays of light bursting through the gloom which it imagined had been rendered every where impenetrable. Even in Rome itself, the sovereign Pontiff, Gregory II. found himself surrounded by heretics; but instead of being convinced of the utter absurdity of attempting to control the consciences of men, and to compel them to receive a rule of faith which they justly regarded as being founded on falsehood and error, he had recourse to the same unhallowed methods that had been used by his predecessors, of supporting the pretensions of the Papacy to inculcate uniformity of sentiment throughout Christendom.

Numbers of the Waldenses were accordingly burned in the city of Rome in 1231; and in 1232, Gregory wrote to the Emperor Frederick

11. informing him, "That the Catherines, Paterines, poor of Lyons, and other heretics, formed in the school of the Albigenses, had appeared in Lombardy and the two Sicilies," and soliciting from him an edict for their destruction. With this request the Emperor complied, and "commanded all judges immediately to deliver to the flames every man who should be convicted of heresy by the bishop of his diocese, and to pull out the tongue of those to whom the bishop should think it proper to show favour, that they might not corrupt others."*

The flames of persecution were not, however, confined to Italy. In Arragon the inquisition

* Notwithstanding the avidity with which the Emperor seconded, both at that time and formerly, the efforts of the Pope to crush the Waldenses, a violent dispute took place between them not long afterwards, which was carried to so great a height, that in 1237 Gregory published a bull against Frederick. An extract from this extraordinary document may amuse the reader, showing as it does the true spirit of the Popish hierarchy. "A beast of blasphemy," says his Holiness, "abounding with names, is risen from the sea, with the feet of a bear, the face of a lion, and members of other different animals; which, like the proud, hath opened its mouth in blasphemies against the holy name; not even fearing to throw the arrows of calumny against the tabernacle of God, and the saints that dwell in heaven. This beast, desirous of breaking every thing in pieces

was introduced in 1232, and for a century and a half made fearful havoc among the Waldenses, till at length there were none of them left in that kingdom. In Poland, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, and other countries, the same atrocities were committed; and, in short, wherever a professor of the Waldensian faith could be found, the adherents of Rome thought it a meritorious service to bathe their hands in his blood!

Our limits prevent us from entering more fully upon the sufferings of the Waldenses, in the various countries which were subject to the See of Rome, more especially as it is chiefly the design of this publication, to give an account of the

with his iron teeth and nails, and of trampling all things under his feet, hath already prepared private battering rams against the wall of the holy Catholic faith; and now raises open machines, in erecting soul-destroying schools of Ishmaelites; rising, according to report, in opposition to Christ, the Redeemer of mankind, the table of whose covenant he attempts to abolish with the pen of wicked heresy. Be not therefore surprised at the malice of this blasphemous beast, if we, who are the servants of the Almighty, should be exposed to the arrows of his destruction." The Emperor was not behind his Holiness in describing the character of Gregory, giving him the epithet of "The great Dragon and Antichrist, of whom it is written, And another red horse arose from the sea, and he that sat upon him took peace from the earth."

Vaudois who inhabited the valleys of Piedmont. The dreadful persecution which the Waldensian Church in France experienced in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Francis I. will be taken notice of afterwards, more particularly as its terrible effects appear to have reached the valleys of Perosa and Lucerna, part of which were then subject to the French crown.

We shall, therefore, close the present chapter with two quotations,—one from the writings of Thuanus, a Roman Catholic historian, which corroborates the statement that has been already given of the dispersion of these “afflicted and sorrowful people;”—and the other from Mr Blair’s History of the Waldenses. “Against the Waldenses,” says Thuanus, “when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and a war of no less weight, than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was determined against them; the result was, that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and possessions, and dispersed abroad, than convinced of their error and brought to repentance. So that they who at first had defended them-

selves by arms, fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part of them withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while. Many passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others, turning to the West, obtained refuge in Britain."

"Though from age to age," says Mr Blair, "the Albigenses have been continually persecuted by the inquisition, yet there was still a seed that lay concealed like embers of fire among the ashes, desiring, what their posterity afterwards enjoyed by the Reformation, the liberty of serving God in purity, without being forced to idolatry and superstition. They privately instructed their children from generation to generation, and the darkness of antichrist never extinguished the true light. Notwithstanding the long space of time, the Lord still carried on his work, and in due time the light of the gospel appeared more openly, and the city of Montreal and neighbouring places, where the faith of the Albigenses had been formerly professed, joyfully received the doctrine of the gospel. Though we cannot detail the succession of witnesses from father to

son, yet these parts were peculiarly blessed with the gospel at the Reformation, while the places which rejected the Albigensian faith were left in darkness. We are to recollect, also, that sadly as the Albigenses in the South of France were reduced and dispersed in this century, yet a considerable number who maintained the same faith, but who are more frequently called Waldenses, publicly persevered in other parts of France in the following centuries till the Reformation, multitudes of whom sealed their testimony with their blood."

CHAP. V.

Situation of the Waldenses in Piedmont during the persecutions in France—attack on the valley of Pragela—distressing scene—rigorous bull of Innocent VIII. against the Vaudois—cruelties of Albert, Archdeacon of Cremona, in the valley of Loyse—ineffectual efforts of Philip VII. Duke of Savoy, to protect his Waldensian subjects—vigorous proceedings of the Inquisition—courage of the Waldenses—they repel their invaders—letter of Œcolampadius to the Waldenses in Provence—edict against them by Francis I.—dreadful sufferings of the inhabitants of Merindol and Carbriere—cruelties of their persecutors—fortitude and sufferings of Aymond de la Voye.

WHILE the Albigenes in France were exposed to all the horrors of persecution, the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont enjoyed a considerable portion of tranquillity. Numerous efforts, it is true, were made by the emissaries of Rome to

induce the dukes of Savoy to destroy the inhabitants of these valleys ; but for upwards of two centuries, these princes resisted all their solicitations to persecute their loyal and peaceable subjects. Under the protection of the dukes, therefore, the Waldenses remained for several ages in comparative tranquillity. Their light continued all that time to shine amidst the darkness which surrounded them ; and although the inquisitors frequently dragged several of them to the stake, yet no open attack was made on their country till the year 1400.

In that year, however, a violent outrage was committed on those who inhabited the valley of Pragela. Their invaders chose the month of December, when the mountains were covered with snow, for accomplishing their horrid work ; when, falling unexpectedly on these peaceable people, they put many of them to the sword, and took possession of their caves. Those who escaped this massacre, fled to the highest mountains of the Alps, the mother carrying the cradle in the one hand, and in the other leading those little children who were able to walk. Pursued by their persecutors, many of them were overtaken and murdered, without respect to age or

sex, while those who avoided the sword of their enemies were either starved to death, or perished among the snow. Eighty children were next morning discovered bereft of life, having fallen a prey to the inclemency of the season; many of the mothers were lying at their side, while others were found in the very agonies of death! Of the few who escaped, some fled to Calabria, and others sought an asylum in Provence, whither they were pursued by the cruel hand of persecution. This outrageous attack made a deep and lasting impression on the minds of the Vaudois; and although a season of some repose followed, yet "for more than a century afterwards, they were wont to speak of it as of a dreadful scene which was still present to their view; and from generation to generation, they continued to relate, with deep impressions of horror, that sudden surprise which had occasioned so much affliction and calamity among them."

In 1487, Innocent VIII. issued a rigorous bull against the Waldenses, and commissioned Albert, Archdeacon of Cremona, as his legate, to carry his bloody purpose into effect:—"We have heard," said his Holiness, "and it has

come to our knowledge, not without much displeasure, that certain sons of iniquity, inhabitants of the province of Evreux, followers of that abominable and pernicious sect of malignant men, who are called the poor people of Lyons, or the Waldenses, who have long ago endeavoured in Piedmont, and other neighbouring parts, by the instigation of him who is the sower of evil works, through by-ways, purposely sought out, and hidden precipices, to ensnare the sheep belonging to God, and at last to bring them to the perdition of their souls by deadly cunning, are damnably risen up under a feigned pretence of holiness, being led into a reprobate sense, and do greatly err from the way of truth," &c. "We, therefore, having determined to use all our endeavours, and to employ all our care, as we are bound by the duty of our pastoral charge, to root up and extirpate such a detestable sect, and the foresaid execrable errors, that they may not spread farther, and that the hearts of believers may not be damnably perverted from the Catholic Church; and to repress such rash undertakings,—and having special confidence in the Lord concerning your learning, &c. have thought good to constitute you at this time, for the cause of

God and the faith, the nuncio commissioner of us, and of the Apostolical See, within the dominions of our beloved son, Charles, Duke of Savoy, and the Delphinat, and the cities and diocese of Vienne, and Sedun, and the adjacent provinces, to the end you should induce the followers of the most wicked sect of the Waldenses, and all others polluted with any other heretical corruption whatsoever, to abjure their errors. And that you may do this so much the more easily, you may admonish and require most urgently, all archbishops and bishops seated in the Duchy, whom the Most High hath called to share with us in our cares, and command, that they do assist you in the orders, and together with you proceed to the execution thereof, against the forenamed Waldenses, and all other heretics whatsoever, to rise up in arms against them, and by a joint communication of processes, to tread them under foot as venomous adders,—and bestowing all your care towards so holy and so necessary an extermination and dispersion of the same heretics.—And if you shall think it expedient, to cause, exhort, and induce all the faithful in those parts, by fit preachers of God preaching the cross or the crusade, to fight manfully

against the same heretics, having taken the saving sign of the cross upon their hearts and garments; and to grant such as are signed with the cross, and fight against the said heretics, or such as contribute thereunto, may obtain, according to your appointment, once in their life, and also at the point of death, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins."

No sooner had Albert received this infamous commission, than he proceeded with the French king's lieutenant, and a body of troops, to the valley of Loyse. Aware of his approach, the inhabitants fled to their caves at the top of the mountains, carrying with them their children, and what was thought necessary for their support. The lieutenant immediately went in search of their places of retreat, which having found, he caused great quantities of wood to be placed at the entrance of the caves, and set on fire. The consequence was, that four hundred infants were suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their also deceased mothers, while multitudes were either precipitated over the rocks and dashed in pieces, or slaughtered by the brutal soldiery. Upwards of three thousand of the inhabitants of this valley perished on that

occasion ; and so effectually was the work of destruction accomplished, that it was afterwards peopled with entirely new inhabitants.

Still thirsting for blood, the inhuman Albert marched against the inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys in 1488, at the head of an army of eighteen thousand men. In order more effectually to accomplish his purpose, he divided his army into three detachments, and marched in different directions against Angrogna, Lucerna, and the other valleys, thus almost encompassing the Vaudois on every side. Availing themselves, however, of the advantages of their situation, the inhabitants defended the passes of the mountains with so much vigour, that their invaders were defeated, and forced to retreat with great loss. During this conflict, the women and children were entreating the Lord, on their knees, to protect his persecuted people. Even these prayers were turned into ridicule by the profane soldiery ; and, among others, Captain Saquet, while caricaturing the devotions of the women, was slain, and tumbled headlong from the mountains into a deep ravine, which, a hundred and thirty years afterwards, was still denominated the Gulf of Saquet.

Convinced that his Waldensian subjects had always been a loyal and an obedient people, Philip VII. Duke of Savoy, was touched with compassion for their sufferings. But having been informed that their young children were monsters, he ordered some of them to be brought before him at Pignerol, where being satisfied of the false statements and deadly malice of their adversaries, the Popish priests, he blamed himself for being so easily imposed upon by their slanderous reports, and declared it to be his resolution henceforward to grant protection to the inhabitants of the valleys. He felt himself utterly unable, however, to carry his kind intentions into effect. The inquisitors continued daily to apprehend, and deliver over to the secular power for punishment, great numbers of the Vaudois; and so dreadful were the cruelties which were committed on these servants of Christ, and so great was their constancy amidst their most excruciating torments, that the persecutions of the first ages of Christianity, and the memory of the primitive martyrs, seemed to be revived. We shall notice only one instance among many which might be given. A Waldensian pastor, named Catelin Girard, while standing on the

block on which he was to be burned, requested his executioners to give him two stones. This request being with some difficulty complied with, the martyr, holding them in his hands, exclaimed, "Sooner shall I eat these stones, than you shall be able to put an end to that religion for which you put me to death;" and throwing them on the ground, he calmly submitted to the stroke of death.

In this manner the Papal inquisitors continued to harass and persecute the Waldenses, till 1532, in consequence of which, they had been obliged for several years to assemble for the worship of God in private. In that year, however, they mustered up more courage, and, unterrified "by the fury of the oppressor," resolved to re-open their churches and openly to preach the gospel. This decisive avowal of their principles increased the indignation of the Romish priests; and, instigated by them, the Duke of Savoy issued an order to invade and plunder their country. Five hundred men, accordingly, entered the valleys, at a time when the inhabitants were completely off their guard, and laid waste every inch of ground within their reach. But instead of being able to accomplish their purpose, of putting the

Waldenses to the sword, these invaders were at first successfully resisted; and the inhabitants gathering courage and increasing in numbers, the assailants were compelled at length to evacuate the country with the loss of a considerable number of their troops. Perceiving how preposterous it was to attempt the subjugation of Piedmont by an armed force, their strongholds in the mountains affording the Vaudois a safe retreat, until the fury of persecution had exhausted itself, the Duke of Savoy relinquished the prosecution of open war, and suffered the inquisitors, by a slower process, to destroy all who fell into their hands.

The Waldenses, however, defended themselves with so much courage and success, that the priests were at length compelled to leave the country; the mass was expelled from Piedmont; and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, they not only enjoyed a considerable portion of tranquillity, but a great increase had been made to their numbers. The Reformation from Popery, which was accomplished at that period, through the instrumentality of Zuinglius, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and others, was hailed with joy by the Waldenses; and a friendly inter-

course was immediately commenced, and uniformly kept up, between them and the Reformers.

Some of the Waldensian pastors of Provence wrote to Œcolampadius, about the year 1530, for advice respecting the compliance of several of their flocks with the unscriptural practices of their Roman Catholic neighbours.* To this communication the Swiss Reformer returned the following remonstrance, which, for its sound and Scriptural reasoning, deserves a place here.

“Œcolampadius wishes the grace of God, through Christ Jesus his Son, and the Holy Spirit, to his well-beloved brethren in Christ, called *Waldenses*.

“I have heard, that from fear of persecution, you dissemble and conceal your faith ; that you

* The reader is requested to observe that the correspondence which took place at this time between the Waldenses and Œcolampadius, had no connection with those in the valleys of Piedmont. It referred solely to those in France. Those intrepid followers of the Lamb, the Piedmontese, were never guilty of compromising their principles. They resisted even unto blood ; and submitted to be “tortured, not accepting deliverance,” that they might preserve the faith in its purity, and “have no fellowship whatever with the works of darkness.”

communicate with unbelievers ; and that you attend abominable mass. Now with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation. But those who are afraid to confess Christ before the world, shall find no acceptance with God ; for our God is truth ; and as he is a jealous God, he cannot endure that any of his servants should take upon them the yoke of Antichrist. For there is no fellowship or communion between Christ and Belial ; and if you communicate with unbelievers, by going to their abominable masses, you will there hear blasphemies against the death and sufferings of Christ. For when they boast, that by means of such sacrifices they make satisfaction to God for the sins both of the living and the dead, what naturally follows, but that Christ by his death has not made sufficient expiation, and consequently that Christ is not a Saviour, and that he died for us in vain ! If we participate in that impure table, we declare ourselves to be of one and the same body with the wicked, however contrary we may pretend it to be to our wills and inclinations. And when we say *Amen* to their prayers, do we not deny Christ ?

“What death ought we not to undergo,—what torture and torment ought we not to endure,—nay, into what abyss of woe and misery ought we not to plunge ourselves, rather than by our presence to testify our consent to, and approbation of, the blasphemies of the wicked? I know that your infirmity is great. But those who have been taught that they were redeemed by the blood of Christ, ought to be courageous, and always to stand in awe of Him who can cast both soul and body into hell. And what? is it enough for us to have preserved this life alone? Shall this be more precious to us than that of Christ? And are we satisfied with having enjoyed the delights and pleasures of this perishing world? Are there not crowns laid before us, and shall we flinch and recoil? Who will believe that our faith was true and sincere, if it want zeal and ardour in the time of persecution? I beseech the Lord to increase your faith.

“Surely it is better for us to lose our lives than to be overcome by temptations. And, therefore, I beseech you thoroughly to consider this matter; for if it be lawful for us to conceal our faith under the tyranny of Antichrist, it

must be lawful for us to do so under that of the Turk ; or you might worship, with Diocletian, at the altars of Jupiter or Venus ; and what then will become of our faith towards God ? If we do not give to God that honour which is his due, and if our lives be nothing but dissimulation and hypocrisy, he will spue us out of his mouth. How shall we glorify God amidst sufferings and tribulations, if we deny him ? When once we have put our hand to the plough, we must not, brethren, look back ; nor must we yield to the dictates and instigations of the flesh, which, by prompting us to sin, though it may endure many things which are distressing in this world, may at last suffer shipwreck in the haven."

The perils to which the Waldenses in Provence were at this time exposed will palliate, though they cannot justify, the compliance which is here complained of by *Æcolampadius*. For although the persecution to which they had been formerly subjected was suspended for a number of years, in consequence of the attention of the Papacy being taken up in opposing the spread of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, and

other countries, yet it was renewed shortly afterwards, and raged against them with awful fury. This letter, therefore, came at a very seasonable time, as they to whom it was addressed were immediately called upon to carry its principles into effect.

Instigated by the Pope's nuncio, Francis I., the French monarch, in 1540, put his signature to an edict which threatened the total destruction of the Waldenses throughout the whole of his dominions. "It enacted, that every dissident from the holy mother Church should acknowledge his errors, and obtain reconciliation within a stated period, under the severest penalties in case of disobedience; and because Merindol was considered to be the principal seat of the heresy, that devoted city was ordered to be razed to the ground. With a species of the most refined cruelty, the edict added, that all the caverns, hiding-places, cellars, and vaults, in the vicinity of the town, should be carefully examined and destroyed, that the woods should be cut down, and all the gardens and orchards laid waste, and that none who had possessed a house or property in Merindol, or within a certain distance, should ever occupy it again, either in his

own person, or in that of any of his name or family, in order that the memory of the excommunicated sect might be utterly wiped away from the province, and the place be made a desert. This horrible decree was put into execution by an armed force, without the least mercy or forbearance; the wretched inhabitants fled *en masse*, and because they refused to surrender themselves at discretion, the commander of the troops which marched against Merindol, threatened death, without trial or appeal, to every one who should render them the least assistance. Nothing ever exceeded the dreadful scenes which followed."

The following is the account which is given us by Sleiden of the fearful manner in which this infamous edict was carried into execution. "In April 1545, John Menier, president of the parliament of Aix, having called the parliament, read to them the king's letters, which warranted him to put the sentence into execution. The letters being read, some of the parliament were selected to see the matter put in execution, to whom Menier offered himself as assistant, because that, in the absence of Grignian, the governor of the province, he had the chief com.

mand. Before that time he had by the king's orders raised forces for the English war, and these he made use of for his purpose. Besides these, he commanded all that were able to carry arms in Marseilles, Aix, Arles, and other populous places, to repair to him, under severe penalties if they disobeyed, having assistance likewise sent him from the country of Avignon, under the dominion of the Pope. The first attempt then was not made upon those of Merindol, but upon the country adjoining the town of Pertuse; while Menier, attended by a multitude of gentlemen and others, came to Cadenet. In the meantime some officers made an irruption into one or two villages upon the river La Druance, and putting all to fire and sword, plundered and carried away a great many cattle. The same also was done in other places, while those of Merindol, seeing all in a flame about them, left their habitations, flew into the woods, and in great consternation spent the night at the village of Sainfalaise. The inhabitants of that place were themselves preparing to fly; for the Pope's viceroy had ordered some officers to fall upon them and put them to the sword. Next day

they advanced farther into the woods ; for they were beset on all hands with danger, Menier having made it death for any person to aid or assist them, and commanding them all, without respect, to be killed wherever they were found. The same edict was in force in the neighbouring places of the Pope's jurisdiction, and some bishops of that country were reported to have maintained a great part of those forces. They had a tedious and uneasy journey of it, marching with their children on their backs and in their arms, nay, and some in the cradle, poor women also with child following them. When they arrived at the place appointed, whither many in that forlorn condition had fled, they received intelligence in the evening that Menier was mustering all his forces that he might fall upon them. Wherefore, consulting together what was best to be done, they resolved upon the spot, because the ways were rough and difficult, to leave their wives, daughters, and little children there, with some few to bear them company, amongst whom was one of their ministers, and the rest betook themselves to the town of Mus : this they did in hope that the enemy might show some compassion towards a helpless and comfortless multitude. But

what wailing and lamentation, what sighing and embracing there was at parting, any man may easily imagine. Having marched all night, and passed the mountain De Leberon, they had the sad prospect of many villages and farms all in a flame. Menier, in the meantime, having divided his forces, set about the work ; and because he had got intelligence of the place to which those of Merindol had betaken themselves, he himself marched to Merindol, and sent the rest of his men in search and pursuit of them. But before they were come into the wood, one of the soldiers, moved with pity, ran before, and from the top of a rock, in the place where he judged the poor fugitives might have rested, he threw down two stones, calling to them by intervals, though he did not see them, that they should instantly fly for their lives. At the same instant two of those who had betaken themselves to Mus, came, and having got notice of the enemy's approach, advised the minister of the church and the rest of those few guards that were left with the women to be gone, having shown them a steep way through the wood, by which they might escape all danger in their flight. Hardly were these gone, when the raging soldiers came

in, shouting and making a frightful noise, and with drawn swords preparing for the butchery. However, at that time they forbore to kill, but having committed many insolencies, and robbed the poor creatures of all their money and provisions, they carried them away prisoners.

“ In the meantime Menier came to Merindol, and finding it forsaken by the inhabitants, he plundered it and set it on fire, which was ushered in by a very cruel action ; for, having found there one single youth, he commanded him to be tied to a tree, and shot. He next marched to Cabriere, and began to batter that town ; but by the mediation of Captain Poulain, he persuaded the town's people, upon promise of indemnity, to open the gates ; which being done, and the soldiers let in, after a little pause, all were put to the sword, without respect to age or sex. Many fled to the church, others to other places, and some into the wine cellar of the castle ; but being dragged out into a meadow, and stript naked, they were all put to the sword, not only the men, but also the women. Menier also shut up about forty women in a barn full of hay and straw, and then set it on fire ; and after that, the poor creatures having attempted in vain to smother the

fire with their clothes, they betook themselves to the window, with an intention to leap down from thence, but they were kept in with pikes and spears, so that all of them perished in the flames. Those in the wine cellar were all put to the sword ; and the young infants which survived the fury, were for the most part re-baptized by the enemy. The number of the slain, as well in the town as abroad in the fields, amounted to eight hundred !”

The town of Coste was next assaulted and taken, when scenes of atrocity, the most detestable and villanous, were committed, the very recital of which would fill the mind of the reader with horror. “ It was in this manner,” says Gilly, “ that plunder, carnage, and violation were spread from one end of Provence to another ; Dauphiné and Languedoc experienced nearly the same horrors, and few were the Protestants who were spared, and fewer those who had the courage to acknowledge that they belonged to the proscribed party. There was, however, one illustrious champion left, Aymond de la Voye, whose name ought not to be forgotten. This brave and pious man boldly went from village to village, to confirm the wavering, and re-assure

the hopeless, until at length he exposed himself to suspicion, and was carried before a tribunal which was sitting for the condemnation of heretics. The first question that was put to him, was intended to draw forth a disclosure that would lead to the apprehension of others.

“Who are your associates?”

“My associates are those who know and do the will of my heavenly Father, whether they be nobles, merchants, peasants, or men of any other condition.”

“Who is the head of the Church?”

“Jesus Christ.”

“Is not the Pope the head of the Church?”

“No—if he be a good man, he is the minister and primate of the Roman Church, but nothing more.”

“Is not the Pope the successor of St Peter?”

“Yes, if he be like St Peter, but not else.”

“His persecutors saw that he was not to be moved, and ordered him to be led to execution. As he passed by an image of the Virgin Mary, he refused to salute it; and the execrations of an infuriated mob had no other effect upon him, than to pray aloud, “Oh, Lord, I beseech thee to make it known to these deluded creatures, that

it is to thee only they are to bow the head, and offer up supplication." As he mounted the scaffold, he cried out with a firm voice, "Be it known that I am not a heretic, but a Christian." The clamorous multitude insisted that his voice should be stopped ; and, before the executioner had inflicted the tortures usual upon these occasions, an end was ordered to be put to his existence, because there was no other way of silencing the undaunted Aymond de la Vuye, whom even prolonged suffering could not intimidate."

CHAP. VI.

New edicts issued against the Waldenses of Piedmont—their petition to the Duke of Savoy—it is disregarded—the Popish troops attack the village of Angrogna—they are repeatedly repulsed—suspension of hostilities—noble defence of the conduct of the Waldenses, made by their deputies at Turin—still more sanguinary edicts issued against the inhabitants of the valleys—their execution for some time suspended—persecutions in the Marquisate of Saluces—the liberties of the Waldenses in the other valleys restricted—a Council for extirpating heretics established at Turin.

THE dreadful sufferings of the Waldenses in Provence deeply afflicted, and filled with alarm, their brethren in the valleys of Piedmont. Similar barbarities continued to be committed in various other places,* and they knew not how soon an

* In Calabria, especially, the Waldenses were subjected to the most cruel sufferings. A church had been

attack might be made upon themselves. Nor were their fears groundless. Francis I. having conquered Piedmont, Paul III., who then filled the Papal throne, persuaded the parliament which that monarch had assembled at Turin, vigorously to proceed against the Waldenses, as "most pernicious heretics." The consequence was, that multitudes of the Vaudois were seized and com-
planted there in the year 1370, and flourished for about two centuries. But having formed, in 1560, a union with Calvin and the Church of Geneva, a bull for their extermination was issued by the Papal See, and no mercy was shown to those who refused to be baptized by a Romish priest. "The pastors were carried in chains to Rome, some were starved to death in prison, others were tortured in the dungeons of the inquisition, after witnessing the utter destruction or dispersion of their flock; and two were burnt at the stake, to gratify the malignity of Pope Pius IV. who could not be satisfied unless he saw with his own eyes the expiring agonies of the heretics, who had dared to question his infallibility." We shall notice one example of Romish cruelty, as a specimen of the deeds of blood which, by order of his *Holiness*, were perpetrated in Calabria. Pope Pius had promised a Cardinal's hat to the governor's brother, provided Calabria were cleared of heresy. That zealous Romanist accordingly ordered the throats of eighty people to be cut; as a butcher kills his sheep. But his malice did not stop here; for he afterwards ordered each dead body to be divided into four quarters, commanded the highways in Calabria, from Montalto to the Castle of Villaro, to be planted with stakes, and made a quarter be fixed on each pole as an execration of the heretics! In short, the Waldenses of Calabria were *wholly exterminated*.

mitted to the flames. In vain did they petition the king to grant them the same privileges under his government which they and their forefathers had enjoyed under the house of Savoy. Both Francis and his parliament commanded them, under pain of death, to renounce their religion, and conform to the worship of the Popish Church. The Waldenses, however, replied, "That in what regarded their religious worship, they could obey no commands which interfered with the laws of God, to whom they chose to be obedient in every thing that concerned his service, rather than to follow the fancies and inclinations of men."

That open war did not immediately follow, was owing to the attention of Francis being engaged with a variety of other affairs; and the destruction of the Waldenses, therefore, was left to the Inquisition. This unhallowed tribunal, ever alive to the perpetration of deeds of cruelty, exercised the commission which it had received with its usual barbarity. Numbers of the inhabitants of the valleys were unceasingly committed to the flames; and being seconded in 1555 by the parliament of Turin, many of the most eminent of the Vaudois pastors perished

within its walls, amidst the most excruciating tortures.

On the death of Francis, his son Henry II. was raised to the throne of France ; and in 1559 Piedmont was again restored to Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy. Scarcely had this prince gained possession of the country of the Vaudois, than the monks of Pignerol earnestly entreated him to exterminate the inhabitants by means of the sword, and to people the valleys with the adherents of Rome. Nay, the Pope's nuncio even reproved the Duke for not being so zealous as the King of France, in persecuting the Waldenses ; and stated, that if he did not join his forces to those of the king, either to convert the inhabitants of the valleys to the bosom of the Church, or to destroy them, his Holiness would have reason to suspect him as a favourer of the Waldenses. To avert, if possible, the danger with which they were threatened, the Waldenses presented a humble petition to the Duke, imploring his clemency. This paper, which is extracted from Morland's History of the Churches of Piedmont, shows so much firmness, mingled with Christian meekness, that, as a specimen of the numerous petitions

which these persecuted people presented to their sovereigns, we shall give it entire.

“ The humble supplication of the poor Waldenses, to the most serene and high Prince, Philibert Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, our most gracious Lord.

“ Festus, governor of Judea, being required by the chief priests and elders of the people to put to death the Apostle Paul, answered no less wisely than justly, that the Romans were not wont to put any to death before they had brought his accusers face to face, and given him time to answer for himself. We are not ignorant, most gracious prince, that many accusations are laid against us, and that many calumnies are cast upon us, to make us objects of abomination to all the Christians and monarchs in the Christian world. But if the Roman people, though pagans, were so equitable, as not to condemn any man before they knew and understood his reasons ; and if the law condemns no man (as it is testified by Nicodemus, John vii.) before he hath been heard, and before it is known what he hath done, the matter now in question being of so great con-

cernment, namely, the glory of the Most High God, and the salvation of so many souls, we do implore your clemency, most gracious prince, that you will be pleased to lend a willing ear to your poor subjects, in so just and righteous a cause.

“First, we do protest, before the Almighty and all-just God, before whose tribunal we must all one day appear, that we intend to live and die in the holy faith, piety, and religion of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and that we do abhor all heresies, that have been, and are, condemned by the word of God.

“We do embrace the most holy doctrine of the prophets and apostles, as likewise of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds ; we subscribe to the four councils, and to all the ancient fathers, in all such things as are not repugnant to the analogy of faith.

“We do most willingly yield obedience to our superiors ; we ever endeavour to live peaceably with our neighbours ; we have wronged no man, though provoked ; nor do we fear that any can, with reason, complain against us.

“Finally, we never were obstinate in our opinions, but rather tractable, and always ready to

receive all holy and pious admonitions, as appears by our confessions of faith.

“ And we are so far from refusing a discussion, or rather a free council, wherein all things may be established by the word of God, that we rather desire the same with all our hearts.

“ We likewise beseech your highness to consider, that this religion we profess, is not ours only, nor hath it been invented by man of late years, as it is falsely reported ; but it is the religion of our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers, and other yet more ancient predecessors of ours, and of the blessed martyrs, confessors, prophets, and apostles ; and if any can prove the contrary, we are ready to subscribe thereunto. The word of God shall not perish, but remain for ever ; therefore, if our religion be the true word of God, as we are persuaded, and not the invention of men, no human force shall be able to extinguish the same.

“ Your highness knows, that this very same religion hath, for many ages past, been most grievously persecuted in all places ; but so far from being abolished and rooted out thereby, that it hath rather increased daily, which is a certain argument, that this work and counsel is not the

work of men but of God, and therefore cannot be destroyed by any violence. Therefore, we beseech your most serene highness to consider, what it is to undertake any thing against God, that so you may not imbrue your hands in innocent blood ! Jesus is our Saviour ; we will religiously obey all your highness's edicts, as far as conscience will permit ; but when conscience says nay, your highness knows, we must obey God rather than man. We unfeignedly confess, that we ought to give to Cæsar that which belongs to Cæsar, provided we give also to God what is due to him.

“ There want not those who will endeavour to incite the generous mind and courage of your highness, to persecute our religion by force of arms. But, O magnanimous prince, you may easily conjecture to what end they do it, that it is not out of zeal to God's glory, but rather to preserve their own worldly dignities, pomp, and riches ; therefore, we beseech your highness, not to regard or countenance their sayings.

“ The Turks, Jews, Saracens, and other nations, though never so barbarous, are suffered to enjoy their own religion, and are constrained by no man to change their manner of living and worship ; and we, who serve and worship in faith

the true and almighty God, and one true and only Sovereign, the Lord Jesus, and confessing one God, and one baptism, shall not we be suffered to enjoy the same privileges ?

“ We humbly implore your highness’ goodness, and that for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’s sake, to allow unto us, your most humble subjects, the most holy gospel of the Lord our God, in its purity ; and that we may not be forced to do things against our consciences ; for which we shall, with all our hearts, beseech our almighty and all good God, to preserve your highness in prosperity.”

This touching appeal had no effect. The Duke, in his blind zeal to please the Pope, ordered the Waldenses to attend mass, on pain of death, and devastation of the valleys by fire and sword. Nor was this a vain threat. Four hundred of the Duke’s soldiers, in 1560, invaded the valley of Lucerna, and put to death many of the inhabitants. Multitudes of the assailants, however, perished by the sword of the Vaudois, who, standing on their defence, ultimately cleared the valley of these assassins. But in a few weeks afterwards, that murderous band was followed by the arrival of

a regular army, under the command of the Count de la Trinité, who immediately attacked the village of Angrogna, and committed many outrages on the persons and property of the Vaudois. About two hundred peasants, armed with slings, was all the Waldensian force which could be mustered at this time, to contend with twelve hundred disciplined soldiers. Yet, as "the race is not often to the swift, nor the battle to the strong," these peasants forced the Count to retreat with disgrace. Enraged at this defeat, he advanced a second time, and was again repulsed with the loss of seventy men, while that on the side of the Waldenses amounted only to three. Having received reinforcements from Spain, which increased the number of his army to seven thousand, the Count determined to wreak his vengeance, not only on the little band who had so successfully opposed him, but on all the Waldenses in the surrounding country. Aware of their inability to contend with a force so superior, the peasants, with their wives and children, and their whole population, retired to their natural and inaccessible fortifications in the mountains. The Count attempted to follow them, "and for four days made every effort to get possession of

the defiles. Two colonels, eight captains, and four hundred men, fell in these desperate assaults, without an inch of ground being gained. On the fifth day a fresh attack was made in three different quarters, with the reserve, composed of some Spanish companies, but the post was not carried; and upon the general commanding his troops to return again to the charge, they refused to obey. At the moment when they began to waver, the Vaudois saw the opportunity, and made a sortie, which produced a universal panic and rout among the assailants." "In several fights," says Scipio Lentulus, who was an eye-witness of the contest, "nine hundred of the enemies were slain, whereas on our side hardly fifteen were wanting." Nay, La Trinité himself publicly declared, that he never felt himself a weaker soldier than in these encounters "with the rustic multitude" of the valleys. The adversaries of the Waldenses indeed reckoned the transactions almost miraculous; for the adherents to the Duke of Savoy openly published in his camps, that the fact was now manifest, that the war which was conducted against the Waldenses had been undertaken contrary to the will of God. They wrote, that when Sebastian Virgel was commencing his march for

the battle with awful threats, his hostess predicted, that he should that day learn by experience whether the cause of Savoy or that of the Waldenses were the more just ; for if the Duke had justice on his side, victory also should be his. When, therefore, wounded and almost lifeless, Virgel was brought back to his lodging-house, the same hostess exclaimed, that " the cause of the Waldenses is the more powerful one," seeing with a small number they had remained superior against so potent an army.

The signal defeat which the Duke's army at this time sustained, induced that prince to suspend hostilities. He required, however, that the Vaudois should send deputies to apologise for their having taken up arms against the forces of their sovereign. On the arrival of deputies at Turin, Chassin-court, one of the courtiers, rudely addressed them in the following words :—" How dare such wretches as you treat with a prince against whom you have made war ? or how can such poor ignorant shepherds, who deserve a gibbet for your folly, have the assurance to contest religious points with a great prince, advised by men of learning, and authorised in his belief by the whole world ?"—" Sir," replied the most aged

of the deputies, "it is the goodness of our prince who has called us, which gives us the assurance to appear before him. Our resistance has been just, since it was compulsory, and God has approved of it by the wonderful assistance he has afforded us. Nor have we fought for worldly wealth, but purely for conscience sake ; and that, when we found our prince endeavouring to put an end to the true service of God, and actuated not by his own will (as we charitably believe), but by that of others, while executing with regret the commands of the Pope. With respect to the simplicity with which you reproach us, God hath blessed it, since the most humble instruments are often the most agreeable to him, and he can elevate the most ignoble for his own good purposes. The counsels of the Spirit are sufficiently wise, the hearts *He* excites, sufficiently courageous, and the arms which *He* strengthens, vigorous enough. We are ignorant, and affect no other eloquence than to pray with faith. As to the death with which you threaten us, the word of our Sovereign is dearer than our lives ; at all events, he who has the fear of God in his heart, fears not death."

Struck with this noble reply, Chassin-court re-

nounced the Romish, and embraced the Vaudois faith. Having, at the same time, interceded with the Duke in their behalf, that prince granted an edict in their favour, which confirmed to them all their privileges, and permitted them to enjoy, not only the free exercise of their religion, but commerce with all the surrounding states under his dominion.

This suspension of hostilities lasted for four years, and had not the emissaries of Rome prevailed over the Duke's inclination, a much longer period of repose might have been afforded to the inhabitants of Piedmont. But in 1565, a new edict was issued, "enjoining every subject throughout the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, not conforming to the Church of Rome, to appear before the magistrates of their several districts, within ten days, and there either declare their readiness to go to mass, or quit the country in two months." Grieved at the sufferings to which their brethren had already been subjected, and anxious to avert the storm which now threatened them, the Protestant princes of Germany; and especially the Elector Palatine, interceded with the Duke in their behalf. Their efforts were seconded by the Duchess, who appears to have been a humane, if

not a pious princess ; which made so deep an impression on the mind of the Duke, that the tranquillity of the Vaudois was restored, and remained undisturbed till 1571. In that year, a new and sanguinary edict was issued against them ; but through the interposition of the same mediators, its fury was for a little longer averted.

New attempts were subsequently made by the Papists again to turn the valleys of Piedmont into a field of blood. The diabolical massacre of the Protestants in France on St Bartholomew day 1572, the death of their protector the Duchess in 1574, and that of the Duke in 1580; were all seized as apparently favourable opportunities for satiating their thirst for blood in the slaughter of the Vaudois. Divine Providence, however, raised up for them friends in various quarters, through whose intercession the heart of their sovereign was touched with compassion, and the expectation of their enemies disappointed. In corroboration of these general statements, it is sufficient to mention, that Charles Emanuel, who succeeded his father, being importuned by the monks and priests to destroy his Waldensian subjects, the Vaudois commissioned their deputies to wait upon their prince, in order to sup-

plicate a continuance of his favour and protection. Already made acquainted with their condition by several Protestant princes, the answer which the Duke returned, in presence of a large assembly of his lords and courtiers, was of the utmost importance to the prosperity of all the churches in Piedmont. "Be but faithful to me," said he, "and I shall not fail to be a good prince, nay, a father to you. And as to your liberty of conscience, and the exercise of your religion, I shall be so far from making any innovations in those liberties which you have enjoyed till the present time, that if any offer to molest you, have your recourse to me, and I shall effectually relieve and protect you."

The season of repose which was thus afforded to the Waldenses was seized as a favourable opportunity for holding a general assembly of the heads of families. Previously many leagues of amity and confederation had been framed. But as they knew not how soon the demon of persecution might be again let loose on them, they renewed these covenants by "a league, or agreement made between the evangelical churches of the valleys of Piedmont, in the year 1571, for the mutual assistance of each other in times of

trouble and persecution." The purport of this covenant, which was sworn with uplifted hands, was to persist in their ancient religious union ; in the service of the true God, and of the only Mediator and Head of the Church ; in adhering to the Old and New Testaments as the only rule of faith and life ; in observing the two sacraments ; in obedience to order and discipline ; in scriptural submission to his highness, and to magistrates ; in mutual defence against persecution ; and in consultation with one another before giving answers regarding religion.*

The times of persecution which the Waldenses so justly feared, were, alas ! not far distant. About the year 1601, the inhabitants of the valley of Lucerna were so severely persecuted, that many of them were obliged to conceal their principles, and attend upon the worship of God

* Let the reader compare these heads of the covenant sworn by the Vaudois with those which our fathers in Scotland entered into in the seventeenth century, and say if they materially differ ; or if it be just in historians to vilify the Scottish covenants, and eulogize those of the Waldenses. The fact is, that both in Piedmont and in Scotland, at the periods referred to, the Protestants were obliged to enter into these bonds in defence at once of their religion and their lives ; and by these means, which are quite accordant with Scripture, the blessings of religion and liberty were handed down to their posterity.

in private. It was in the province of Saluzzo, or Marquisate of Saluces, however, then under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy, that the Vaudois experienced the greatest cruelties. This province lies on the south side of Piedmont, and is separated from the valley of Lucerna only by a mountain. It is a rich tract of country, containing several large cities, and at the close of the sixteenth century there were eight flourishing churches within the Marquisate. Its contiguity to the valleys of Piedmont had frequently exposed its inhabitants to severe sufferings; but it was not till the year 1601 that the Romish Church found an opportunity of effecting their ruin. In 1597, Charles Emanuel had addressed a letter to the churches of the Marquisate, requiring them to "lay aside all heretical obstinacy," and to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The answer which they returned, earnestly entreated the Duke to indulge them with a continuance of their privileges; but had not that prince been then obliged to repair to France, the entreaties of the Waldenses would have been of no avail.

In 1601, accordingly, Charles Emanuel published an edict, "commanding all the inhabi-

tants of the Marquisate of Saluces who dissented from the Romish Church, to appear before the magistrates within the space of fifteen days, and there declare whether they would renounce their religion, or quit the country." If the latter alternative were chosen, two months only were allowed them for leaving their homes, never to return, on pain of death. So astonished were the Waldenses at this rigorous decree, that they could not be persuaded of their sovereign being in earnest; and instead, therefore, of rendering immediate obedience to an order so unjust, they appointed deputies to wait upon the Duke, in order, if possible, to obtain some mitigation of its terms. All their efforts, however, proved abortive; and the consequence was, that five hundred families were forced to abandon all their property, and to retire, some to France, and others to Geneva, or to the valleys of Piedmont. Thus were all the Vaudois churches in the Marquisate of Saluces completely dispersed.

This base action was followed, in 1602, by an edict, in which it was commanded by the Duke, "That the Vaudois should not perform any religious act beyond the limits of the valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, on pain

of death,—that they should maintain there neither public nor private schools,—that no marriage should take place between those of different communions,—that no Roman Catholics should assist at the Vaudois worship,—that no Vaudois should dissuade others from attending mass, or reply to the missionaries sent for their conversion,—that all Vaudois should be incapable of holding any public employment whatever,—and that no Catholic, under pain of confiscation, should sell or hire to a Vaudois either goods or land.”

In consequence of this decree, the Waldenses were exposed till the year 1637 to innumerable vexations, and often to cruel persecution. Yet notwithstanding all their sufferings, these poor and afflicted followers of Christ “persisted,” says Perrin, “in constantly calling on the name of God, choosing to be banished from their native abodes on earth, rather than be deprived of eternal life ; undervaluing their possessions, their country, their houses, as places which they could not inhabit without denying Christ and his truth.”

From 1637 till 1650, the Waldenses enjoyed a season of tranquillity, which was again broken in the year last mentioned by the establishment

of a Council at Turin, for the purpose of propagating the Romish faith, and extirpating heresy. This infamous tribunal sent spies into the valleys, who attacked the Vaudois pastors, carried off the women and children, and cited multitudes of the inhabitants to appear before their Popish judges at Turin, whence they were seldom allowed to return.

The See of Rome could not, however, remain satisfied with this comparatively slow method of accomplishing the destruction of the Waldenses; and means more effectual, therefore, were resorted to for effecting so diabolical a purpose.

CHAP. VII.

Order of Gastaldo for the destruction of the Waldenses—great numbers of them forced to abandon their country—dreadful persecution of 1655—cruelty of Gastaldo—multitudes of the Waldenses massacred, or perish in their flight—affecting statement of their miseries, in a letter written by some of the survivors—Bresse's account of the barbarities which were inflicted on them—the Protestant states of Europe express their horror at these massacres—attestation of them by Du Petit Bourg—bravery of Gianavello—sonnet by Milton on the sufferings of the Vaudois—letter from Oliver Cromwell to the Duke of Savoy on the news reaching England—contributions raised there in behalf of the Vaudois—Sir Samuel Morland's mission to Turin—his speech to the Duke of Savoy—treaty of Pignerol—affecting account by Morland of the condition of the Waldenses—persecution of the Waldenses in Poland.

ON the 25th of January 1655, the following iniquitous edict was issued against the Waldenses,

—an edict which was executed, as the sequel will show, to its very letter :—

“ Andrew Gastaldo, doctor of the civil law, &c. sitting in the most illustrious chamber of accounts of his royal highness, and conservator general of the holy faith, for the observation of the orders published against the pretended reformed religion of the valley of Lucerna, and S. Martino, and upon this account especially deputed by his said royal highness.

“ We, by virtue of the authority which we hold of his royal highness, of the 13th instant, &c. command and enjoin every head of a family, with its members, of the pretended reformed religion, of what rank, degree, or condition soever, none excepted, inhabiting and possessing estates in the places of Lucerna, Lucernetta, S. Giovanni, La Torre, Bubbiana, and Fenile, Campiglione, Bricherassio, and S. Secondo, within three days after the publication of these presents, to withdraw and depart, and to be with their families withdrawn out of the said places, and transported into the places and limits tolerated by his royal highness during his good pleasure—*under pain of death, and confiscation of houses and goods,*

Provided always they do not make it appear to us within twenty days following, that they are become Catholics, or that they have sold their goods to the Catholics.—Furthermore, his royal highness intends and wills, that in the places favourably tolerated, (viz. where they were to transport themselves,) in every one of them the holy mass shall be celebrated, inhibiting those of the said pretended religion any ways to molest, either in deed or in word, the missionary fathers, and those that attend them, much less divert or dissuade any of the said religion who would turn Catholic, under the same pain of death," &c.

To comply with the terms of this decree, was to occasion inexpressible misery to the poor Waldenses. The middle of winter was the season chosen by their enemies for putting thousands of families, including the aged, the infirm, the helpless, and the sick, to flight over the rugged Alpine mountains, in traversing which it was easy to foresee that multitudes must perish. In vain did they expostulate by their deputies, in the most heart-rending terms, against the cruelty of this edict. In vain did they supplicate the Duke for some mitigation of its terms. They

were forced to abandon their habitations and their property, and to retire with their wives and children, conducting the halt, the lame, and the blind, and carrying the helpless infants, through a mountainous country, amidst rain, snow, and ice, with a thousand difficulties still more formidable.

All this, however, was but the commencement of their sufferings. No sooner had they departed, than numerous lawless bands, under the sanction of Gastaldo, entered their houses, which they not only spoiled, but razed to the ground, and rendered the places adjacent a desolate wilderness. The Popish army next pursued the fugitives, or attacked those who imagined they were not within the limits of the places proscribed, when scenes of perfidy, injustice, villany, and cruelty, were exhibited, which, were it not for the credibility of the numerous historians by whom they are recorded, almost exceed belief. It is sufficient to say, that the innocent Waldenses, who were now in the power of, we say not murderers, but literally cannibals, were not to be butchered in an ordinary way. They were not to be put to the sword as conquered enemies without quarter, nor to suffer by the hands

of the executioner as the most infamous of criminals ; for massacres of this description would not have sufficiently signalized the Popish zeal of the Marquis of Pionessa, the general of the Catholic troops. " In these ordinary methods of bloodshed there would not have been sufficient merit for the Bavarians who came so far to the execution, still less for the massacres of Ireland, who had been similarly employed in their own country in 1642, nor for the banished, the thieves, and other execrable malefactors of Piedmont, who by these transactions were to acquire plenary indulgence. Having, therefore, left all the usual ways of putting Christians to death, they wished to distinguish themselves by new inventions, that should acquire for them glory in heaven, and should immortalize their memory on earth !"

The following mournful letter, which was written by some of the survivors of these dreadful persecutions, to their brethren in other countries, will however give the reader a more distinct idea, though still a very faint one, of the miseries to which these faithful and humble Vaudois were subjected.

"BRETHREN AND FATHERS !

" Our tears are no more tears of water, but of blood, which not only obscure our sight, but oppress our very hearts. Our pen is guided by a trembling hand, and our minds are distracted by such unexpected alarms, that we are incapable of forming a letter which shall correspond with our wishes, or the strangeness of our desolations. In this respect, therefore, we plead your excuse, and that you would endeavour to collect our meaning from what we would impart to you.

" Whatever reports may have been circulated, concerning our obstinacy in refusing to have recourse to his royal highness for redress of our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we never desisted from writing supplicatory letters, or presenting our humble requests, by the hands of our deputies, and that they were sent and referred, sometimes to the council *de propaganda fide*, (the council for extirpating heretics,) at other times to the Marquis of Pionessa ; and that the three last times they were positively rejected, and refused so much as an audience, under the pretext that they had no credentials, nor instructions which should autho-

rise them to promise or accept, on the behalf of their respective churches, whatever it might please his highness to grant or bestow upon them. And by the instigation and contrivance of the Roman clergy, there was secretly placed in ambush an army of six thousand men, who, animated and encouraged thereto by the personal presence and active exertions of the Marquis of Pionessa, fell suddenly, and in the most violent manner, upon the inhabitants of San Giovanni and La Torre.

“ This army having once entered and got a footing, was soon augmented by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants of Piedmont, who, hearing that we were given up as a prey to the plunderers, fell upon the poor people with impetuous fury. To all those were added an incalculable number of persons that had been outlawed, prisoners, and other offenders, who expected thereby to have saved their souls, and filled their purses. And the better to effect their purposes, the inhabitants were compelled to receive five or six regiments of the French army, besides some Irish, to whom, it is reported, our country was promised, with several

troops of vagabond persons, under the pretext of coming into the valleys for fresh quarters.

“ This great multitude, by virtue of a license from the Marquis of Pionessa, instigated by the monks, and enticed and conducted by our wicked and unnatural neighbours, attacked us with such violence on every side, especially in Angrogna, Villaro, and Bobio, and in a manner so horribly treacherous, that in an instant all was one entire scene of confusion, and the inhabitants, after a fruitless skirmish to defend themselves, were compelled to flee for their lives, with their wives and children ; and that not merely the inhabitants of the plain, but those of the mountains also. Nor was all their diligence sufficient to prevent the destruction of a considerable number of them. For, in many places, such as Villaro and Bobio, they were so hemmed in on every side, the army having seized on the fort of Mareburg, and by that means blocked up the avenue, that there remained no possibility of escape, and nothing remained to them but to be massacred and put to death. In one place they mercilessly tortured no less than a hundred and fifty women and their children, chopping off the heads of some, and dashing the brains of others against

the rocks. And in regard to those whom they took prisoners, from fifteen years old and upwards, who refused to go to mass, they hanged some, and nailed others to trees by the feet, with their heads downwards. It is reported that they carried some persons of note prisoners to Turin, viz. our poor brother and pastor Mr Gross, with some part of his family. In short, there is neither cattle nor provisions of any kind left in the valley of Lucerna;—it is but too evident that all is lost, since there are some whole districts, especially S. Giovanni and La Torre, where the business of setting fire to our houses and churches was so dexterously managed, by a Franciscan friar, and a certain priest, that they left not so much as one of either unburnt. In these desolations, the mother has been bereft of her dear child, the husband of his affectionate wife! Those who were once the richest amongst us, are reduced to the necessity of begging their bread; while others still remain weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of life. And as to the churches in S. Martino and other places, who, on all former occasions, have been a sanctuary to the persecuted, they have themselves now been summoned to quit

their dwellings, and every soul of them to depart, and that instantaneously and without respite, under pain of being put to death. Nor is there any mercy to be expected by any of them who are found within the dominions of his royal highness.

“ The pretext which is alleged for justifying these horrid proceedings, is, that we are rebels against the orders of his highness, for not having brought the whole city of Geneva within the walls of Mary Magdalene church ; or, in plainer terms, for not having performed an utter impossibility, in departing in a moment from our houses and homes in Bubbiana, Lucerna, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, S. Giovanni, and S. Secondo ; and also for having renewed our repeated supplications to his royal highness, to commiserate our situation, who, while on the one hand he promised us to make no innovations in our lot, on the other refused us permission to depart peaceably out of his dominions, which we have often entreated him for, in case he would not allow us to continue and enjoy the liberty of our consciences, as his predecessors had always done. True it is, that the Marquis of Pionessa had adduced another reason, and we have the original

copy of his writing in our possession, which is that it was his royal highness's pleasure to abase us and humble our pride, for endeavouring to shroud ourselves, and take sanctuary under the protection of foreign princes and states.

"To conclude, our beautiful and flourishing churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless our God work miracles for us. Their time is come, and our measure is full! O have pity upon the desolations of Jerusalem, and be grieved for the afflictions of Joseph! Shew forth your compassions, and let your bowels yearn in behalf of so many thousands of poor souls, who are reduced to a morsel of bread, for following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. We recommend our pastors, with their scattered and dispersed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers, and rest in haste,

"Your brethren in the Lord."

"*April 27, 1655.*"

The pen almost drops from one's hand, at the touching strain of this most affecting letter; yet it records nothing in comparison to the deeds of cruelty which are given by Morland, Leger, and other historians of equal veracity. These two

writers, in particular, have embellished their works with plates, representing the tortures that were inflicted on the Vaudois, at the sight of which the very blood freezes in the veins. To use the words of the Apostle, of the Vaudois it was literally true, that "they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep skins and goat skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom the world was not worthy;) they wandered in deserts, and on mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."

To give any thing like an outline of the atrocities which the Papists, or rather demons in human form, committed on the servants of the Most High, would render the book in which they are stated, a horror to every virtuous and feeling mind. Well might Leger say, that the echoes of the valleys, and of the Alps, gave so pitiful responses to the lamentable cries of the poor massacred people, and to the dreadful howlings of so many martyrs, that you would have said that the rocks were moved at the noise of the entreaties for mercy, and beating the breast, while all the agents in the bloody scene were utterly insensible. The actions of the children

of darkness, seem darker than even the prince of darkness itself.

We shall not appal the reader by instances of individual suffering, far less shock the feelings by giving a description of the methods which were used by the barbarians to prolong the miseries of their victims, ere they extinguished the vital spark, as well as the atrocities which they committed even on the lifeless bodies. A few extracts only from Bresse, who gives an account of these deeds of cruelty, in a manner as unrevolting as possible, will be sufficient to corroborate what has been already stated.

“The eager desire to obtain possession of the valleys,” says this author, “and all that the Vaudois possessed in them, excited a series of intrigues, which ended in an order to Gastaldo, auditor of Luzerne, to enjoin and command the Vaudois inhabitants of Brigueiras, S. Second, Bubbiana, Fenil, Campillon, Luzerne, St. Jean, and La Tour, to abandon those places within three days, or receive the mass, under pain of death and confiscation of property.

“What makes this step still more cruel and unjust, if possible, is, that it took place in the winter of 1654, when Charles Emanuel II. had,

by an edict of 3d December, just confirmed all their privileges.—It will easily be imagined, that no time was lost in sending deputies to Turin, and trying every possible means to obtain a mitigation of this dreadful sentence. These deputies were amused by an affected deliberation on their petition, and were referred sometimes from the Duke to his mother, sometimes from the Duchess to the Marquis di Pianezza, and from him to the Propaganda, till they received information, on the 16th of April, (though they were promised a final audience on the 17th,) that the Marquis was already at Luzerne with his forces, and that they had better provide for their own safety. Thus, by a series of base treachery, duplicity, and cruelty, was the way prepared for those dreadful massacres, which have cast so foul a stain on the reign of Charles Emanuel the Second.

“It was on the 17th of April 1655, that the Marquis di Pianezza entered the valleys with an army of 15,000 men, composed of the troops of the Duke, four French regiments, one German corps, and 1200 Irish. On the 18th, this army ravaged the parishes of St Jean and La Tour. On the 19th, they even attacked them in quar-

ters to which the order of Gastaldo (to abandon their possessions) did not extend; the enemy was repulsed, notwithstanding his immense superiority of numbers, and, on the 20th, vainly attempted to burn the church of St Jean.

“In consequence of this spirited resistance, Pianezza had recourse to the most infamous treachery. Having sent to demand a conference, he protested to the deputies that his only object was to enforce the order which had been given by Gastaldo, and that the parishes within it might rest secure of peace, if, in sign of their obedience, they would permit a regiment of infantry, and two troops of cavalry, to be quartered in their territory for two or three days. The deputies, who, unsuspecting of treason, judged of the Marquis by themselves, assented, though M. J. Leger, and some other pastors, greatly suspected the measure.

“The before-mentioned troops no sooner entered, than they seized the strong points round each village, and (regardless of entreaties that they would remain in the lower villages) pressed forward to the highest positions. Meanwhile they were followed by the whole army in divisions, which marched in different directions

against Angrogna, Villar, and Bobbi, and upon the last bulwark of defence, the Prè du Tour; this last force laid the country through which they passed waste by fire and sword; and in consequence, the error being now perceived, most of those who inhabited the right of the Val de Luzerne passed the mountains in the night, and took refuge in the Val de Perouse. The inhabitants of the other side of the valley were almost all obliged to remain, having no means of retreat, the passage being completely closed against them. The enemy, after gaining entire possession of the valleys, pretended to have no intention of remaining there more than a few days, and exhorted the Vaudois to recall their fugitive brethren, which some had the weakness to do, trusting to the assurance given them, that no harm should befall them.

“Such was the situation of affairs, when on the 24th of April, the signal was given from a hill near La Tour, called Castellás, for a general massacre, which extended through the whole valley, and began at the same instant. Neither age nor sex were spared; every refinement of cruelty which the malice of demons could invent, was put in practice. The very mention of these

horrors excites too much disgust to allow of a detail of them. Violation, mutilation, and impalement, were mere common atrocities ; many were roasted by slow fires, others cut in pieces while alive, or dragged by mules, with ropes passed through their wounds ; some were blown up by gunpowder placed in the ears and mouth ; many rolled off the rocks, with their hands bound between their legs, among precipices where they were abandoned to a cruel and lingering death ; children were carried on pikes, and".....

" But let us not dwell longer on these infernal barbarities. They are detailed in Leger, and the names of many of the sufferers, and the evidence of eye-witnesses, are there recorded. The number who perished *in the Val Luzerne alone*, amounted to two hundred and fifty, besides children and others, whose names have not been collected, and the men who fell sword in hand ; for nearly all the victims of these cruelties were women, children, and old people. But the mere recital of the numbers destroyed, cannot suffice to give an idea of the miseries endured ; we must add the horrors encountered by the survivors, wandering in utter destitution among the mountains, in terror and want, after witnessing

the murder and outrages committed on their dearest relatives and friends."

The report of this inhuman massacre raised in every Protestant state of Europe, as we shall afterwards see, a universal feeling of horror. The chief agents in these deeds of blood found it necessary, therefore, to endeavour to extenuate their enormities, and every one attempted to throw the odium upon his fellow. The Marquis of Pianezza, in particular, accused Du Petit Bourg, and several other officers of his army, of having exceeded the bounds of their commission;—an accusation that called forth from that officer the following attestation, which was corroborated by the testimony of S. Hilaire, and Du Faure, two captains of the infantry regiments of Sault and Auvergne.

"I, the Signor du Petit Bourg, first captain of the regiment of Gransè, and commander of the same, having received instructions from Prince Thomas, to go and join the Marquess di Pianezza, and to act under his orders, which Marquess was then at La Tour, just as I was ready to set out, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. di Pianezza, and to use

my efforts to accommodate the troubles which were then existing in the Protestant valleys of Piedmont; in order whereunto I did then address myself to the said Marquess, and entreated him, with great earnestness, that he would permit me to undertake the said accommodation, which I supposed I should be able to effect. But he refused this my request, notwithstanding the endeavours I used to persuade him; and instead of the least mitigation of affairs, that this or any other consideration was likely to produce, I was witness to many great violences and cruelties, exercised by the banditti and soldiers of Piedmont, upon all of every age, sex, and condition, many of whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, hung up, and violated, with many horrid circumstances of barbarity. And so far is it from truth, that this was done by virtue of orders issued by me, (as is falsely stated in a certain Narrative, printed in French and Italian,) that *I beheld the same with horror and regret.* And whereas it is said, in the same Narrative, that the Marquess di Pianezza commanded me to treat them leniently, without hostility, and in the best manner I possibly could, the event clearly demonstrated, that the orders he gave

were quite contrary; since it is certain, that without any distinction of those who did or did not resist, they were treated with every kind of inhumanity; their houses burnt, their goods plundered; and when prisoners were brought before the Marquess, I saw him give orders to grant them no quarter at all, '*because,*' said he, '*his highness is resolved to have none of this religion in any of his dominions.*' And as to what he protests in the same declaration, namely, that there was no injury done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any lunatic or idiot, I will assert, and do maintain, that it was not so, having seen with mine own eyes several men killed in cold blood, and even women, aged people, and young persons, miserably murdered. With regard to the manner in which they made themselves masters of Angrogna, to pillage and burn the same, they did it easily enough, for, excepting six or seven who made opposition, seeing there would be no mercy shown, the peasants thought more of flying than of fighting the enemy. In short, I absolutely affirm, and protest, before God, that none of those cruelties above mentioned were executed by my orders, but on the contrary,

seeing that I could effect no mitigation, I was obliged to retire, and quit the command of the regiment, for fear of being present at more such iniquitous actions.

(Signed) "DU PETIT BOURG."

"Done at Pignerol, 25th Nov. 1655."

During the time of the bloody havoc that was made by the Marquis of Pianezza at S. Giovanni, La Torre, and Villars, five hundred men, under the command of Count Christophel, were sent to surprise and pillage the village of Rora. This band of assassins had scarcely reached the summit of the little hill Rumer, when they were perceived by Gianavello, who, with seven or eight of his comrades, had retired there for refuge. These few brave Vaudois having posted themselves in an advantageous situation, concealed from the view of the enemy, saluted their assailants with a discharge of musketry, which instantly put them to a disgraceful flight. On the news of this defeat reaching the Marquis of Pianezza, he disclaimed having any hand in the proceeding, and affirmed that these soldiers had acted without his orders, as Rora was not within the limits of the devoted valleys of the Vaudois.

On the day following, however, the Marquis dispatched six hundred men to make a second attack, who met with a similar reception, Gianavello, with twelve men, having not only repulsed them, but killed about sixty in their flight. A third enterprise was equally unsuccessful, which so enraged the Marquis, that, throwing off the mask, he assembled all his forces in that vicinity, and ordered 8000 men to march to Rora, to destroy a village, containing only *twenty-five families*! A simultaneous attack was appointed to be made, in three divisions; but by some mistake one troop only, under the command of Captain Mario, advanced to the assault. The little band of heroes, ever on the alert, having descried them at a distance, again lay concealed in their mountain fastnesses till the enemy was within reach, when they discharged their pieces with so well directed an aim, that the assailants were put to the rout, and sixty-five men perished either in the action or in the flight.* A second

* Captain Mario having received a mortal wound, by falling over a rock, was carried to Lucerna, where he declared, amidst the agonies of dissolution, "that he already felt the fires of hell within him, in consequence of the people, houses, and churches, which he had caused to be burned."

victory was gained the same day by the Vaudois, over another party which was advancing from Villars; upon which these heroic men assembled to return thanks to God for their wonderful deliverance.

This, however, was the last day of triumph for Gianavello and his comrades. The Marquis now ordered 10,000 men, in three divisions, to march to Rora, for the destruction of that devoted village. Gianavello hesitated not to attack one of these divisions, and succeeded in compelling that section of the enemy to retire with considerable loss; but during the engagement, the other two had gained possession of the village, when tortures and death in every form were inflicted on the inhabitants, who were composed of the aged, the infirm, women, and children. When Gianavello perceived that he could no longer afford them protection, he effected his escape to the mountains of Angrogna, where, with a few brave comrades, he continued to be the terror of his persecutors.

The Marquis was so enraged at the escape of Gianavello, that he threatened to torture and burn his wife and children, whom he had taken prisoners, unless he surrendered himself and

changed his religion. Gianavello, however, returned the Marquis the following noble answer:—"No torture is so horrible, nor is any death so cruel, which I would not prefer to the abjuration of my faith, which the threats of the Marquis only serve to confirm. As to my wife and children, whom he has in his power, Providence will not abandon them. If he is permitted to put them to death, he can do no more than kill their bodies: As to their souls, which will accuse him before the throne of the God of the universe, I commend them and my own to the Divine protection."

Under Gianavello, Jayer, and other distinguished officers, the Waldenses who escaped the massacre continued bravely to encounter the hosts of popish savages by whom they were assailed, hundreds of whom, in several engagements, fell before mere handfuls of the Protestants. Nor did they cease the combat till a stop was put to the war by the treaty of Pignerol. A more noble struggle for religion and liberty than that which was maintained by the Vaudois in 1655, the world never beheld. The number of unoffending individuals known to Leger, who were butchered in April and May,

were three hundred and thirty-two, which, if added to the number that fell in battle, will amount to four hundred and twenty-seven. But these are not a twelfth part of the deaths; contemporary writers reckoning the number of Waldenses who perished on this occasion to amount to upwards of *six thousand*. The greater number seems to have died in prison, by cold, by hunger, and by the daggers of the soldiery, without their names being known to the historians.

The news of the dreadful sufferings to which the Waldenses were subjected, no sooner reached the Protestant states of Europe, than a sensation was felt, which perhaps was never expressed for a similar cause, in a manner so decided and universal. The English government, the Kings of France, Sweden, and Denmark, the Swiss Cantons, the States General of the United Provinces, the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Republic of Geneva, all interested themselves in the afflictions of the Waldenses. Letters were written, and envoys dispatched, from these powers to the Duke of Savoy, interceding for the persecuted Vaudois, and remonstrating against the injustice and bar-

barity of their oppressors. The Swiss cantons, in particular, who were the first to hear of these horrid massacres, not only wrote to the Duke, but set apart a day for public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, and recommended a general collection to be made throughout all their territories for the relief of the sufferers.

But among all the powers who interested themselves in behalf of the poor Vaudois, none took a more decided part than that of England. Urged on by the poet Milton, who at that time filled the office of Latin Secretary, Oliver Cromwell immediately wrote, not only to the Duke of Savoy, but to all the Protestant princes and states in Europe, entreating their aid in vindicating and relieving the sufferers. Milton indeed was so deeply affected at the account of their miseries, which was transmitted to England, that it drew from his pen the following touching sonnet :—

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold :
Even them, who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not ; in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold

Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
An hundred fold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

The following is the letter which the Protector
addressed to the Duke of Savoy.

" MOST SERENE PRINCE,

" We have received letters from several places
in the vicinity of your dominions, informing us
that the subjects of your royal highness, profess-
ing the Reformed religion, have been commanded
by an edict, published by your authority, under
pain of death and the confiscation of their pro-
perty, to quit their houses and lands, unless they
shall enter into an engagement to abjure their
own religion, and embrace the Roman Catholic
faith, before the end of twenty days. And we
have also learnt, that, regardless of their humble
petitions to your royal highness, praying for a
revocation of that edict, and to grant them the
same privileges which were granted them by

your serene predecessors, your army fell upon them, cruelly massacred great numbers, imprisoned others, and drove the rest into desolate places and to mountains covered with snow, where hundreds of families are reduced to such extremity, that it is to be feared they will all soon perish with cold and hunger. .

“On receiving intelligence of the awful condition of this most miserable people, it was impossible not to feel the deepest sorrow and compassion ; for, we not only consider ourselves united to them by the ties of humanity, but those of the same religion. Feeling, therefore, that we should fail in our duty to God, to our brethren, to ourselves, and to the religion we profess, and should evince the want of brotherly love, if we were not deeply moved by a sense of their calamities, we declare that we feel it necessary to use every means in our power to obtain an alleviation of their unparalleled sufferings.

“We therefore most earnestly entreat and conjure your highness, in the first place, to call to mind the acts and ordinances of your serene ancestors, and the concessions which they made and confirmed from time immemorial in favour of their subjects in the valleys : which concessions were granted

unquestionably in obedience to the will of God, who requires that liberty of conscience should be the inviolable right of every man, and in consideration of the merits of these their subjects, whom they always found faithful in war, and obedient in time of peace. And as your serene highness has imitated the example of your ancestors in all other things that have been so gloriously achieved by them, we again and again beseech you, that you will not depart from them in this instance, but that you will revoke this edict, and any other that has been issued for the disquieting of your subjects on account of their religion ; that you will restore to them their houses and property ; that you will confirm to them their ancient rights and liberties ; that you will cause reparation to be made for the injuries they have sustained ; and adopt such means as may put an end to these vexatious proceedings. In doing this, your highness will perform what is most acceptable to God, comfort and support the minds of these unhappy sufferers, and give satisfaction to all your neighbours who profess the Protestant religion, especially to us, who will regard your clemency as the effect of our intercession ; which will constrain us to do every kind office in re-

turn, and will be the means of not only renewing our good correspondence and friendship, but of encreasing them between this commonwealth and your dominions. Promising ourselves much from your justice and clemency, we earnestly pray to God to incline your mind and thoughts, and so to confer on you and on your people the blessings of peace and truth, and to prosper you in all your affairs.

“ Given at our Court, at Westminster, May
25, 1655.

“ OLIVER, PROTECTOR.”

Cromwell next ordered a general fast, and had a narrative printed and circulated through the country, representing the miseries of the Waldenses, and recommending a general contribution. As an example of the liberality which he wished to see manifested by the nation, he contributed from his own private purse, the sum of two thousand pounds sterling ; and a sum was soon raised, which amounted to L.38,241 : 1 : 6. He likewise wrote to the Kings of France, Denmark, and Sweden, and to the States General of the United Provinces, calling upon them to join with himself in endeavouring to relieve the wants and

secure the safety and liberty of the unhappy sufferers.

Having proceeded thus far, Cromwell did not stop short in the prosecution of so praiseworthy an enterprise. He appointed Sir Samuel Morland immediately to repair to Turin, to present letters of strong remonstrance to the Duke, and to express the indignation which the proceedings against the Waldenses had excited in Britain. Morland left England on the 26th of May, and arrived at Rivoli, within two miles of Turin, on the 21st of June. He obtained an audience on the 23d, when in presence of the Duke, Madame Royale, and the whole court, he delivered an oration, in which he displayed so much ardour, faithfulness, and judgment, that it will not be thought unnecessary to give it here.

“ May it please your most serene and royal highness,

“ I am sent by the most serene prince Oliver, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto your royal highness, whom he heartily saluteth, and with a very high and singular affection of mind towards the person of your serene highness, wishing you life, a long

reign, and prosperous successes in all your affairs, together with the love and affections of your people.—Though I be a young man, and have not much experience in affairs, yet it pleased my most serene and most gracious master to send me to your royal highness, to negotiate matters of great importance ; for so those affairs are to be called, wherein the safety of many poor distressed people, and also all their hope, are comprehended, which indeed consisteth wholly in this, if so be that by all their loyalty, obedience, and most humble petitions, they may be able to mollify and appease the mind of your royal highness, which hath been provoked against them.

“ In behalf of these poor people, whose cause, truly, even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most serene protector of England is also become an intercessor ; and he most earnestly entreateth and beseecheth your royal highness, that you would be pleased to extend your mercy to these your very poor subjects, and most disconsolate outcasts : I mean those who, inhabiting beneath the Alps, and certain valleys under your dominions, are professors of the Protestant religion. For he hath been informed, not by any who assert that this was done

by the will of your royal highness, that part of these most miserable people have been cruelly massacred by your forces, part driven out by violence, and forced to leave their native habitations; and so, without house or shelter, poor, and destitute of all relief, do wander up and down, with their wives and children, in craggy and uninhabitable places, and mountains covered with snow. Now, what species of cruelty have these soldiers of late not acted, or what have they omitted? Oh! the fired houses which are yet smoking, the torn limbs, and ground defiled with blood!

“Men, an hundred years old, decrepit with age and bed-ridden, have been burnt in their beds. Infants have been dashed against the rocks, have had their throats cut, and their brains, with more than Cyclopean cruelty, have been boiled and eaten by the murderers!! What need I mention more, although I could reckon up very many cruelties of the same kind, if I were not astonished at the very thought of them. I would speak without any offence to your highness, since we believe that none of these things were done through any fault of yours. If all the tyrants of all times and places were alive again, certainly they would be ashamed when they should find, that they had

contrived nothing in comparison with these things that might be reputed barbarous and inhuman.

“The very angels are surprised with horror at them ! Men are amazed ! Heaven itself seems to be astonished with the cries of dying men ; and the very earth to blush, being discoloured with the blood of so many innocent persons ! Do not thou, O thou most high God, do not thou take that revenge which is due to so aggravated wickedness and horrible villanies ! Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away the stain of this blood !

“But it is not my business to make a narrative of these things, in order as they were done, or to insist any longer upon them ; and that which my most serene master desireth of your royal highness, you will better understand by his own letters, which letters I am commanded, with all observance and due respect, to deliver unto your royal highness ; to which if your royal highness shall, as we very much hope, be pleased to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will thereby very highly oblige my lord protector, who hath laid this thing deeply to heart, and the whole commonwealth of England. You will also, by an act of compassion most worthy of your royal highness, restore life, safety, and spirit, country and

estates, to many thousands of afflicted people, who depend upon your pleasure ; and you will dismiss me back to my native country with exceeding joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the most happy proclaimer of your princely clemency, and one for ever most obliged to your royal highness."

No sooner had Morland concluded his speech, than Madame Royale addressed herself to the English minister, and informed him, " that as, on the one hand, she could not but extremely applaud the singular charity and goodness of his highness, the lord protector, towards their subjects, whose situation had been represented to him so exceedingly lamentable, as she perceived by his discourse had been done ; so, on the other, she could not but extremely wonder that the malice of men should ever proceed so far as to clothe such *paternal and tender chastisements* of their *most rebellious* and *insolent* subjects, in characters so black and deformed, thereby to render them odious to all the neighbouring princes and states, with whom they were so anxious to keep up a good understanding and friendship, especially with so great and powerful a prince as

the lord protector. But she was persuaded, when he came to be more particularly informed of the truth of all that had passed, he would be so perfectly satisfied with the Duke's proceedings, that he would not give the least countenance to his *disobedient subjects*. However, for his highness's sake, they would not only freely pardon their rebellious subjects for the *very heinous crimes* which they had committed, but would also grant them such privileges and favours, as could not fail to give the protector full proof of the great respect which they entertained for his person and mediation."

It would afford little gratification to the reader to trace the progress of the protracted and unsatisfactory negotiations which followed. "The result of these was," says Gilly, "that the Duke of Savoy returned an answer to Cromwell, promising to proclaim a general act of indemnity, to restore the Vaudois to their possessions, and to concede the same privileges and immunities which his ancestors had granted; and he concluded by referring all differences to the mediation of the King of France. England and the rest of the Protestant powers were completely thrown off their guard by these promises; the courts of

France and Savoy took advantage of the satisfaction which was expressed at the matter having been left to be so arranged, and huddled up a treaty, called the Treaty of Pinerolo, which left the poor Vaudois at the mercy of their oppressors, under the mask of establishing their security." When this disgraceful treaty "came to be published to the world," says Morland, "and accurately examined by wise and sober men, it was found to resemble a leper arrayed in rich clothing and gay attire ! It was a treaty as full of grievances as poor Lazarus was of sores ! The greater part of the articles of which it consisted clashing with the people's interests and ancient privileges, and the remainder made up of expressions which looked as many ways as the mariner's compass. In short, it cannot be more fitly compared to anything than to Ezekiel's roll, which, though it were as sweet as honey in the people's mouths, yet there was written within nothing but lamentation, and mourning, and woe."

This description of the treaty of Pignerol is by no means overcharged, as the poor Waldenses soon felt by sad experience. They therefore drew up, on the 29th of March 1656, a pathetic appeal for redress, entitled, "The Grievances of

the Treaty made at Pignerol," which, though a most affecting document, our limits prevent us from laying before the reader.* It was delivered to the King of France; but no redress could be obtained. "It so happened," says Morland, "that from this time forward, the leading men in the court of Savoy have used their best endeavours to lay heavier loads on their backs than ever they had hitherto done. For in their orders of 20th April and 6th October 1656, and 24th August 1657, they summoned the poor people to pay their taxes for the year 1655, contrary to the treaty, while they exempted the Catholics from the said taxes: and when they appealed to the Duke, 6th October 1657, on the hardship of their case, they were, among other things, abso-

* In the first article of their melancholy catalogue of grievances, they say, "We are involved in the crime of rebellion, against which we do now, and have always protested, having never done any one act that can justly subject us to that imputation, no, not even when the whole state was in an uproar, nor even when they came to destroy us as they did last year; for although we had very great cause of suspicion, as is but too manifest from the event, having granted for the most part to the squadron of Savoy their winter quarters, yet no sooner had the Marquis of Pionessa charged us, in the name of his royal highness, to receive his forces, than, without making the least resistance, we permitted them to enter, and do whatever they chose."

lutely prohibited the exercise of their public worship in San Giovanni."

Having remained among the Waldenses till the summer of 1658, Morland closes his history in the following mournful words:—"It is my unhappiness that I am forced to leave them where I found them, among the potsherd, with sackcloth and ashes spread under them, and lifting up their voice with weeping, in the words of Job, 'Have pity on us, have pity on us, O ye our friends, for the hand of God hath touched us.' To this very hour they hunger and thirst, and are naked and buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place. To this very day they labour under most heavy burdens, which are laid upon them by their rigid task-masters of the Church of Rome; by forbidding them all manner of traffic or commerce for their sustenance; by robbing them of their goods and estates; by banishing their ministers, who are the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better devour the sheep; by violating their young women; yea, by murdering many innocents as they pass along the high-way; by cruel mockings and revilings; by continual menacings and threats of another massacre, if possible seven-fold more

bloody than the former !—To all which I must add, that notwithstanding those supplies which have been sent them from England and other states, yet so great is the number of those hungry creatures, and so grievous are the oppressions of their Popish enemies, who lie in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, and snatch at every morsel of meat that goes into their mouths, that to this day they are ready to eat their own flesh for want of bread. The tongue of the suckling is ready to cleave to the roof of his mouth, and the young children ask bread, and no man gives it to them ; and in many places the young and the old lie on the ground in the streets. Their miseries are more grievous than words can express. They have ‘no grapes in their vineyards ; no cattle in their fields ; no herds in their stalls ; no corn in their garners ; no meal in their barrel ; no oil in their cruse.’ The stock which was gathered for them by the good people of this and other nations, is wasting apace, and when that is spent, they must inevitably perish, except God, who turns the hearts of princes as the rivers of water, be graciously pleased to incline the heart of their sovereign

prince, to take pity on his poor, harmless, and faithful subjects."

The flames of persecution were not however confined to Piedmont. Similar deeds of cruelty were inflicted on the Waldenses of Poland, a full account of which was published at the time, (1658,) in England, and again excited the sympathy and liberality of the British nation. The following extracts from this document, which was drawn up by the Polish Waldensian Churches themselves, will not, it is hoped, be deemed a digression.

"When, in the year 1655, the Swedish army out of Pomerania drew near to the borders of Poland, and the nobility were summoned to arms, according to the custom of the country, it came to pass that the Papists brake forth into many furious expressions, crying out, that the heretics, (viz. the Polish Waldenses,) had invited the enemy, and, therefore, they were the first of all to be put to the sword and extirpated; which reports, though falsely scattered abroad, (for the Searcher of hearts and reins knoweth, that we never so much as dreamt of it,) yet they easily found credit among the sworn ene-

mies of the gospel, who sought nothing more than our ruin. Hereupon they who first consulted to agree with the Swedish army, being terrified by its power, concluded about the surrender of all great Poland into the King's protection, and namely the royal cities of Posen, Calissen, Meseric, &c. to which also Lesna* was expressly added. In a little time after, they endeavoured to cast off the Swedish yoke, and turned their arms not against the Swedes, but first against our evangelical professors, as conspiring with the Swedes upon the account of religion, and none of them scrupled to take revenge upon them. The first of all set upon those of Lesna, with the resolution of putting all to the sword, and destroying that heretical city by fire, and they had effected both, unless God had, by sending some persons before, who by signifying the coming of the enemy, and with what intent they came, had possessed the citizens with a panic fear, so that leaving all their estates, they every man fled; and thus within the space of one hour, a most populous

* The city of Lesna was the chief seat of the Protestants, and was consequently the first place to which the Popish forces directed their attention.

city, abounding with all manner of wealth, was left without inhabitants, who, in a miserable condition, wandered then into the neighbouring woods and marshes into Silesia. But the Polish nobility, with their army, entering the city, did what they pleased, slaying a great number of decrepit old people, and sick persons, that were not able to save themselves by flight; then the city itself was first plundered; and afterwards so destroyed by fire, for three days together, that no part of it remained besides rubbish and ashes. In what manner they would have handled the citizens, especially their pastors, they showed by their heroic actions performed in other places, by the most savage slaughtering of divers ministers of the church, and other faithful members of Christ of both sexes; for of all that they laid hold on, they gave not one man quarter, but very cruelly put them to death with most exquisite tortures. They endeavoured to force Mr Samuel Cardus, pastor of the church of Czuertzen, to renounce his religion, after they had taken him, and miserably handled him with all manner of cruelty; but he stoutly resisting, they first put out his eyes, and led him about for a spectacle, then they pulled off his fingers

end with pincers ; but he not yet condescending to their mad fury, they found out a new kind of torment, poured molten lead into his mouth, and, at length, while he was yet half alive, they clapt his neck between folding doors, and violently pulling them together, severed his head from his body. They took John Jacobides, pastor of the church of Dembnick, and Alexander Wartens his colleague, and another that was in company with them, as they passed through the town of Lubin, and hurrying them up and down for divers hours, and grievously handling them after the manner of tyrants, they last of all, cutting their throats with a razor, threw them headlong, while they were yet breathing, into a great pit, which had been before-hand prepared for their martyrs, and stifled them by casting down dirt upon them.

“ Of that barbarous execution which they did upon the weaker sex, there were, besides other examples, horrid trophies of cruelty erected in the said city of Lesna ; a pious matron there, who was the mother of three children, not being able quick enough to leave the city, and being slain in the open street, they cut off her hands and feet, and cutting off her children's heads, they

laid two of them at her breasts, and the third by her side. In like manner, another woman having her hands and feet cut off, and her tongue cut out, being inclosed and bound in a sack, lived the space of two days making most miserable lamentation. Grief forbids us to add more, for they behaved themselves so furiously towards us, that there remains not an example of any one man saved of all those that happened to fall into their hands. It is notoriously known how that fury of theirs tyrannized also over the dead ; some they dragged out of their graves and cut into pieces, as at Zichlin ; others they exposed naked for a public spectacle, as at Lesna ; of which outrageous action we had an example, even in the dead body of the most serene Landgrave of Hessa, which was drawn out of the grave, who was heretofore slain in a most barbarous and tyrannical manner at Koscian, but buried by our friends at Lesna, &c.

“ Now Lesna being destroyed, the fury of the enemy proceeded to the persecution of others ; they, in a short time, utterly demolished all our congregations, not only driving away the pastors, but also either burning or leaving most of the temples desolate, as at Karmin, Dembnick,

Skochy, Czriuczyn, &c. ; yea, and the auditories themselves were either slain, (as in the town of Skochy, where there was a very flourishing church of the Bohemian exiles, sixty persons both men and women were cruelly put to death,) or else they were scattered abroad, so that there remained not one place wherein the worship of God may be celebrated. Lo, this is the most miserable state and condition of our churches ! Moreover our countrymen, to the number of five thousand, besides youths and children, being dispersed in banishment (which hath now befallen most of us the second time), especially throughout Silesia, as also through the Marck, Lusatia, Hungary, &c. find no comfort, but much misery, and are there exposed to the hatred and envy of men. We that are pastors dare not openly minister to our auditories with the word and sacraments, but only in private meetings, or in woods among fenny places, God only seeing us, who is witness of these calamities, and our comfort in extremities. Indeed, being thus destitute of all things, we lead a wretched life in banishment, being afflicted with hunger and nakedness, and are become next to the most miserable Waldenses, the greatest spectacle of

calamity to the Christian world ; for so it hath seemed good to that sovereign wisdom that governs all things, that we should be the inheritors of the cross and persecution of those men from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine and external succession : for truly we are the remaining progeny even of the Waldenses, with whom being raised from the ashes of blessed Huss, and with whom combining into the same holy fellowship of the faith and afflictions of Christ, we have for two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like storms of calamities, until at length we fell into this calamity, greater than ever was known in the memory of our fathers, and which threatens us with utter destruction, unless God prevent it. The truth is, this business constrains us to amazement and tears, greater than can be expressed in words, to set forth our affliction and sorrow. If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies, we desire that this affliction of Joseph may be recommended, especially to all that are of the household of faith. Let them not suffer those to perish whom the same Spirit of Christ hath joined with them

in so near a relation ; we beseech them in the name of Christ, that they would rather make haste to relieve those who are ready to perish, we being assured that we suffer this persecution upon no other account, than for the confession of the truth, from those enemies who have acted such things as these against us in times past, and are now at length, by God's permission, pouring out their fury upon us."

CHAP. VIII.

New artifices to ruin the Waldenses—their loyalty to their Sovereign—they enjoy a short respite from suffering—are again persecuted by Victor Amadeus II.—are forced to arm in their own defence—they are compelled to yield to the superior forces of France and Savoy—are all either massacred or imprisoned—the awful sufferings of the survivors—three thousand of them released from prison and banished—Piedmont repopled with Roman Catholics—Henri Arnaud marches at the head of the Vaudois for the recovery of their native valleys—astonishing achievements of the exiles—their sanguinary conflicts—their intrepidity during the siege of Balsille—termination of the war, and restoration of the Vaudois to their country—reflections by Arnaud on the issue of the contest.

NOTWITHSTANDING the disadvantageous terms of the treaty of Pignerol, numbers of the Waldenses who had fled from the massacres of 1665, returned to their native valleys. But, alas! it was only to endure still farther persecutions, and to share with their brethren the dreadful suffer-

ings to which the Romish Church subjected all who dared to call in question her usurped and despotic power. Besides seizing a great part of the collections which had been made for these poor people in Protestant countries, and building forts in their valleys, the garrisons of which were guilty of innumerable instances of violence and bloodshed, their enemies devised a third scheme to effect their ruin, namely, that of summoning multitudes of them to Turin to answer for crimes of which they were completely innocent. Thirty-eight of the inhabitants of Lucerna were treated in this manner. If they did not appear, they were condemned as guilty; if they answered, they were afraid of the Inquisition, which defied the secular power. Many were condemned to death as being contumacious, or if, in the plenitude of their power, a milder sentence was awarded, that sentence at least consigned them to the galleys, and confiscated their goods. Pardon, and even favour, was conferred on those who put them to death, in consequence of which the soldiers hanged not a few, under pretence that they thought them condemned; while others were plundered, and their houses razed to the foundation. Although the Wal-

denses were again forced, in 1663, to take up arms in their own defence, in the exercise of which they every where proved victorious, it was contrary to their inclination, and they chose rather patiently to submit to the oppressions and persecutions to which they were subjected till 1672,* when Providence gave them an opportunity of signalling their loyalty to their prince, which for some time procured for them a considerable portion of tranquillity.

A war having broken out in 1672, between the Duke of Savoy and the Genoese, in which the latter proved almost uniformly victorious, the Waldenses, notwithstanding their former ill treatment, voluntarily came forward to the assistance of their sovereign. This reinforcement to the Duke's army gave a new turn to the contest, which shortly afterwards ended in the complete discomfiture of the Genoese. In testimony of gratitude for their loyalty on this occasion, the Duke addressed to the Waldenses the following letter, acknowledging the obligations

* It ought to be noticed here, that all the Protestant States of Europe were unremitting in their exertions to procure for the Waldenses from their bigoted sovereign, liberty to worship God agreeably to their own consciences; but the emissaries of Rome, alas ! generally prevailed.

under which he was laid for their services, and henceforward promising them his favour and protection.

“ To our most faithful subjects, the communities of the valleys of Lucerna, Perouse, S. Martino, and of the districts of Perrustin, &c. &c.

“ *The Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, &c.*

“ MOST DEAR AND FAITHFUL,

“ Forasmuch as we have been well pleased with the zeal and readiness with which you have provided men, who have served us to our entire satisfaction, in the affair we had against the Genoese,—we have thought fit to testify unto you, by these presents, our approbation thereof, and to assure you, that we shall keep it in particular remembrance, to make you sensible on all occasions of the effects of our royal protection, whereof the Count Beccaria shall give you more ample information, whom we have commanded to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a list of the officers and soldiers, as well of those that are dead, as of those that remain prisoners, that he may report the same

unto us, to the end that we may pay regard thereunto. In the meantime, these presents shall serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction and good will ; and we pray God to preserve you from evil.

(Signed) " C. EMANUEL.

" *Turin, 5th Nov. 1672.*"

Nor were these mere words of course ; for till the period of his death, which took place in 1675, he continued to be their steady friend. Following his example, the Duchess extended to the Vaudois the same sympathy and kindness ; and till the year 1685, the Waldensian churches " had rest throughout all Piedmont ; and, walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

But this season of tranquillity was very short-lived. New scenes of violence and injustice were acted in the devoted valleys of Piedmont ; and, to use the words of the prophet, " destruction upon destruction was cried, for the whole land was spoiled." Victor Amadeus II. was now the sovereign of the Vaudois ; and, though numerous proclamations had been issued, one of them even so late as in 1684, all acknowledging

their inviolable attachment to their princes, yet that unfeeling potentate, instigated by the persecuting Louis XIV. of France, who had recently revoked the edict of Nantz, published an edict in January 1686, ordering "that every Protestant church and chapel should be razed to the ground, and that every person professing the Protestant faith, should publicly renounce his errors within fifteen days from the date of the proclamation, under pain of banishment or death. All infants, too, born from that time, were to be baptized, and brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, under the penalty of their fathers being condemned to the gallies!"

In vain did the Waldenses themselves, or the Protestant states of Europe, remonstrate against so unjust an edict. Amidst tears and expostulations, the Duke, urged on by the King of France, proceeded to put his dreadful decree into execution. The Waldenses had now, therefore, no other alternative but to arm in their own defence; and though, out of a population of about 15,000, 2500 only were capable of bearing arms, yet this handful more than once repulsed the united forces of the King of France and the Duke of Savoy. "The Vaudois," says Gilly,

“gallantly withstood the first shock of war, and for three days, were victorious in every engagement. At length they were compelled, by the overwhelming numbers of their invaders, to submit, but not before such horrible devastation had been carried into every hamlet, and such unheard of barbarities committed upon all ages, even upon women and infants, that it would be outraging human nature to recount them.” More than three thousand are said to have been butchered either by the sword, or by the more horrible inventions of their persecutors; fourteen thousand were imprisoned, the greater part of whom perished, and the remainder were banished; and multitudes of children were conducted to remote places, to be educated in the Popish faith. “No sooner had these unfortunate people laid down their arms,” says Arnaud, “than they recognized their error. Fourteen thousand persons were thrown into prison, of whom a greater number was destroyed than would have fallen in the rudest war. Eleven thousand perished in thirteen prisons, from cold or heat, hunger or thirst. Such a destruction may appear incredible; but it is indisputable, that only three thousand again saw the light, and these only to

be banished from their property and country.” “The jails,” says Boyer, “were so full of these wretched people, that they perished by hundreds, of hunger, thirst, and infectious diseases. It would be a hard matter to represent all the miseries and calamities they suffered during their captivity; and they were more or less ill treated according to the ill humour of those who had the command of their prisons. They had nothing but bread and water for their ordinary food; the one without substance, and the other from the kennels of the streets. In some places they gave them water only at certain set times, and in such small quantities, that many perished. They slept on the bare bricks; or, if they were allowed straw, it was rotten, and full of vermin, while the dungeons were so thronged, that they were crowded to suffocation. The place of the dead, numbers of them dying every day, was constantly supplied with fresh prisoners, that the dungeons might be always equally thronged; and the intense heat of the summer, and the corruption with which the chambers were infected, by reason of the great number of the sick, engendered evils too horrible for recital.”

At the end of six months, three thousand only

of the prisoners remained alive, and even of these it may be said, that they were little more than the shadows of human beings. For this miserable remnant, however, the Protestant states again made so urgent intercession, that Victor Amadeus, in the middle of winter, issued a proclamation for releasing them, on condition of their banishing themselves for ever from Piedmont. "The proclamation," says Jones, "was made at the castle of Mondovi, for example, and at five o'clock *the same evening* they were to begin a march of four or five leagues ; before the morning, more than a hundred and fifty of them sunk under the burden of their maladies and fatigue, and died. The same thing happened to the prisoners at Fossan. A company of them halted one night at the foot of Mount Cenis ; when they were about to march the next morning, they pointed the officer who conducted them, to a terrible tempest upon the top of the mountain, beseeching him to allow them to stay till it had passed away. The inhuman officer, deaf to the voice of pity, insisted on their marching ; the consequence of which was, that eighty-six of their number died, and were buried in that horrible tempest of snow. Some merchants that

afterwards crossed the mountains, saw the bodies of these miserable people extended on the snow, the mothers clasping the children in their arms ! Such as survived, reached Geneva about the end of December, but in such an exhausted state, that many of them died upon their arrival, ' finding the end of their life in the beginning of their liberty.' Of about ten thousand that were imprisoned in Piedmont, not more than a fourth part survived, but these were received by the citizens of Geneva, and also in Switzerland, with more kindness than they had experienced of cruelty from the Piedmontese. Thus were the valleys of Piedmont dispeopled of its ancient inhabitants, and the lamp of heavenly light, which during a long succession of ages had here shined in resplendent lustre, was at length removed."

The whole of the Waldenses in small divisions had arrived at Geneva by the beginning of February 1687. A most amiable example of Christian sympathy was exhibited by the Genevese ; for no sooner did they hear of the approach of the sufferers, than the citizens went to meet them, and each one strove who should conduct the greatest number to his house. To use the words of Blair, " they viewed them as men

and as Christians in distress, who brought blessings to the city. Some of them dropped down dead betwixt the gates; some from sickness were expected to die every moment in the arms of the charitable Christians who supported them. The tongues of others were benumbed with cold, and many were hardly able to move another step. Some were unable to stretch out their hands to receive the charity offered. After a little repose, such as first appeared in the city, went back to seek their relations in the next company. The father inquired for his child, or the child for his parent; the husband for his wife, and she for the partner of her cares. All that reached Geneva were only two thousand five hundred."

Nor must we forget to mention the kindness of the Swiss cantons to these refugees. The 2500 who arrived at Geneva were appointed, by a general assembly of the Swiss, to be received into their territories in the following proportion: Of every hundred, Zurich was to provide for twenty-eight; Bern, forty-four; Basle, thirteen; Schaffhausen, nine; and St Gall, six. Zurich accordingly admitted seven hundred, and the other cantons in the proportions appointed. The

Swiss were unable, however, to continue the support of so great an influx of strangers, and negotiated for them in Germany and Holland, to which a number of the Vaudois shortly afterwards repaired.

Having thus triumphed over the faithful Vaudois, and expelled them from their native valleys, the perfidious Victor Amadeus II. repopled Piedmont with Roman Catholics, and placed garrisons of French and Piedmontese soldiers in the forts which guarded the passes of the mountains. The ancient inhabitants were now scattered among different nations, and nothing seemed to be more improbable, than that they should ever return, and take possession of that country from which they had been so unjustly expatriated.

In vain, however, do men attempt to thwart the purposes of the Most High; it is his "counsel" alone that "shall stand," and "when he works, none can let it." Raised up by Divine Providence, Henri Arnaud, one of the Waldensian pastors, undertook the arduous enterprise of conducting the scattered Vaudois to Piedmont, and of resettling them among their native mountains. In June 1688, they had sent three men

to trace the best route for their endeavouring to return to their native valleys, and to engage some friends by the way to prepare bread for them. The three searchers were seized as robbers in a wild part of Tarentaise, and with difficulty escaped. They recommended, in their report, that the Vaudois should return by Valais and St Bernard. But we shall avail ourselves of the following account, which is given us by Gilly, of the disinterested and Christian patriot Arnaud, and of the difficulties which he had to encounter ere he commenced, to all appearance, his hopeless undertaking.

“ Ardent, enthusiastic, and patriotic, Henri Arnaud’s love for his native valleys would not suffer him to be happy in a foreign land; his courage would hear of no obstacles, and his warm imagination represented the arm of God as lifted up to succour the holy undertaking. *Lux lucet in tenebris, the light shineth in darkness*, was the motto of his community, and the words which were ever in his mouth. He thought he saw the cloud which was to go before him by day, and the pillar of fire which was to give him light by night, and he was incessant in his importunities, until he had communicated his own mar-

tial spirit to a few faithful friends, and had girt on what he called the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, which he solemnly swore never to resign, until the crucifix should be torn down from the altars of the thirteen sanctuaries, which, until this fatal epoch, had never been so idolatrously decorated. In a short time, his little troop was increased to upwards of eight hundred daring adventurers, whom he had persuaded to join his standard, from different parts of Germany and Switzerland. They were obliged to meet in secret, and their nocturnal assemblies were held in the dark retreats of a forest, which then spread over a long tract of country, between Niou and Rolle, and extended down to the edge of the lake of Geneva. What was then a forest, is now but a wood, and there remains scarcely enough to mark the spot where one of the boldest exploits was planned, which ever entered into the heart of man to conceive."

The preparations of Arnaud were completed on the evening of the 16th of August 1689. He had previously made two attempts to lead his heroic band into Piedmont; but both had failed, and additional guards were stationed on the frontiers by the Duke of Savoy. On the above-

mentioned night, however, Arnaud and his men crossed the lake in boats which they had seized on the coast, and landed between Nernier and Yvoire in Savoy. Here they would have been attacked by an armed force, had they not laid hold of two gentlemen, whom they detained as hostages, till they were beyond the reach of danger from the inhabitants of that part of the country. For two or three days they travelled through places to which they were total strangers, and had it not been for their guides, for whose fidelity their hostages were answerable, in all probability they would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Their utmost vigilance, indeed, scarcely prevented them from being betrayed. The inhabitants of Cluses, a town situated on the banks of the Arve, not only at first refused to grant them a passage through their territories, but despatched messengers to Sallanches, exhorting the inhabitants of that city to attack the Vaudois in front, while they themselves would assail them in the rear. This scheme, however, was most providentially frustrated, and the Waldenses continued their march, not without considerable opposition, through the narrow defile of Maglan, till they arrived at

Cablau, where they remained for the night. The rain fell in torrents during the whole of that day, which rendered their march both difficult and hazardous ; yet, "even for this rain," says Arnaud, "these poor people had cause to be thankful, as it no doubt prevented the enemy from pursuing them."

On the following morning, they ascended the mountain Haut Luce, amidst rain, snow, and fog ; and had it not been for the intrepidity of their leader, their guides would have conducted them into places where they would easily have become a prey to their enemies.* Their exertions

* The guides "maliciously contrived," says Arnaud, "to lead the Vaudois through the most frightful passes, to allow time for the Savoyards to come up and destroy them ; and, in consequence, Mons. Arnaud threatened to have these treacherous guides hanged. If the zealous leader of this little troop knew how to alarm those who meant to deceive, he endeavoured no less, by good and holy exhortations, to raise the courage of those under his care, and who seemed now on the point of sinking under an accumulation of evils, increased by the almost unbearable fatigue of effecting a passage through a pass cut in the rock, like a ladder, where twenty persons might easily have destroyed 20,000. They descended with greater difficulty ; and in a sitting posture slid down precipices, without any other light than what was afforded them by the snow, and arrived late in the night at St Nicholas de Verose, a miserable hamlet, composed merely of some shepherds' huts."

and fatigues were still farther increased during the fourth day's march, in the morning of which they ascended, or rather climbed, among snow above two feet deep, the mountain Bon Homme. After encountering innumerable difficulties and dangers, they at length "descended from those snow-covered heights, and followed the course of the mountain torrent called Reclus, and penetrated through a woody ravine into the plain of Scez."

Having traversed the valley of Isere, their road lying through a narrow ravine covered with thick underwood, they passed Mount Iseran and Mount Cenis, in effecting which they endured sufferings almost incredible, and encountered opposition by no means inconsiderable. It was not, however, till the eighth day of their enterprise that they first came in contact with any large disciplined army. A strong garrison of soldiers had been placed at Susa, whom the Waldenses wished if possible to avoid, and accordingly proceeded along the banks of the river Doire, till they arrived at within a short distance of Salabertan, where a bridge is thrown across the current. Here they found a body of 2500 French soldiers ready to oppose them, who, on their ap-

proach, summoned them to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. The situation of the Vaudois at this critical juncture was truly distressing. Worn out with fatigue, opposed by a force so very superior in point of numbers, and unable to effect a retreat from the nature of the place, and from the garrison of Susa, which was ready to attack them in the rear,—they had now no alternative but to advance and endeavour to render themselves masters of the bridge. The conflict which followed cannot be described in better terms than in the words of the undaunted Arnaud himself.

“An engagement now appearing to be inevitable, the Vaudois assembled to prayers; and, having reconnoitred the ground on each side, advanced almost to the bridge. Some of the enemy, who were intrenched on the other side, called out *Qui vive?* to which they replied very sincerely *Amis*, that was, provided they were allowed to pass; but the others, who desired no friends at that price, cried, ‘Kill them, kill them,’ and opened upon them a fire which lasted more than a quarter of an hour, during which more than two thousand shots were discharged. Mons. de la Tour (meaning Arnaud himself,) having at

first ordered his men to lie down flat on their faces, one man only was wounded. A Savoyard nobleman, one of the hostages, declared that he had never seen so terrible a firing take such little effect ; and what was still more remarkable, M. de la Tour, Captain Mondon, and two other refugees, were not only obliged to expose themselves to it, but held in check two companies who attempted to charge the Vaudois in the rear. Our men, seeing themselves thus placed between two fires, and that every exertion must be made, called out, ' The bridge is carried,' before it was actually gained ; which so animated the soldiers, that they threw themselves upon it, and forcing it sword in hand, made their way into the intrenchments of the enemy, whom they pursued so closely as to seize them by the hair. The shock was tremendous. The sabres of the Vaudois shivered the swords of the French in pieces, who could use their muskets only to parry the blows. At length the victory was so complete, that the Marquis de Larrey, who commanded the French, and was dangerously wounded in the arm, exclaimed, (swearing after the French manner,) ' Is it possible that I should lose both the battle and my honour ? Sauve qui peut.' He

then retreated with several wounded officers to Briançon, where, not thinking himself in safety, he fled in a litter to Embrun. The engagement lasted nearly two hours, and the enemy were thrown into such disorder, that many were mixed with the Vaudois and killed. At last the field of battle remained covered with the dead ; many companies were reduced to seven or eight men, all their officers having been killed. All the baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the victorious Vaudois, who, throwing up their hats, made the air resound with this exclamation of joy, ‘ Thanks be given to the eternal God of armies, who has granted us the victory.’

“ What ! could a handful of men force 2500 soldiers from their intrenchments, when of these soldiers nineteen companies were composed of regular troops, and the remainder of militia and peasants, besides the troops in their rear, already mentioned ? The thing appears so improbable, that to believe it, one must bear firmly in mind that the hand of God not only fought for them, but blinded the French, otherwise it is impossible that a nation so clear-sighted, and so skilful in the art of war, should have failed to perceive, that by breaking up the bridge, which was only

of wood, they must have instantly stopt the progress of the Vaudois, for the river was so swollen, that it was not fordable. Astonishing as this victory appears, the trifling loss sustained by the victors is not less so; from ten to twelve only were wounded, and fourteen or fifteen killed."

This signal defeat not only raised the spirits of the victors, but struck terror into the hearts of the vanquished. Instead therefore of taking repose, the little band of Vaudois pressed forward, and, passing several mountains, arrived first in the valley of Pragela. Thence they proceeded to the valley of San Martino, previous to entering which they encountered and defeated a large body of the enemy. It was in the valley of Angrogna, however, where the greater part of the Popish army was concentrated, to dislodge whom the Vaudois were determined to make every exertion. All the passes were fortified by the French and Piedmontese, and the efforts of Arnaud to effect an entrance into Angrogna seemed to be altogether hopeless. But nothing could check his impetuous attack. The heights were carried with little or no loss on the part of the Waldenses, and the Popish forces were pursued from one summit to another, till at length they took refuge

in the village of Bobbi. Nor were they secure even there. The victorious Arnaud soon made himself master of that place also, the garrison having fled at his approach, and its spoil was distributed among the conquerors.

The successes, with which the arms of the Vaudois were crowned, never inspired them with self-confidence. They knew upon whose smile or frown depended the prosperity or the failure of their enterprise ; and they never ceased therefore to implore the God of their fathers, to be the breaker up of the way before them. On the 28th of August, they celebrated divine service for the first time since their banishment, in one of their own churches. Having sung the 74th Psalm, Arnaud mounted the pulpit, and preached from the 129th Psalm, and "once more declared in the face of heaven, that he would never resume his pastoral office in patience and peace, until he should witness the restoration of his brethren to their ancient and rightful settlements." They also took an oath of fidelity to each other, binding themselves "neither to separate nor disunite while granted life by God, even though they should be reduced to the number of three or four."

Unintimidated by numbers, the Vaudois next

turned their arms against Villars, where there was a strong garrison, and pressed the enemy so hard, as to force them to retire within the walls of a convent. From this position they would soon have been dislodged, had not a strong reinforcement arrived from Pignerol, which obliged the Waldenses to retire to the mountains of S. Martino. Strong detachments of French and Piedmontese troops were now dispatched to all the valleys, to pursue and crush the intrepid Arnaud and his little band; and wherever these forces marched, they desolated the country, in order to cut off all supplies of provisions from the Vaudois. "The warfare," says Gilly, whose account is corroborated in every particular by Arnaud, "now assumed a more extraordinary turn than ever. The eight hundred had to maintain their ground against brigades sent against them by the King of France on the one side, and the Duke of Savoy on the other: it was no longer a detached force, but a well-appointed army, with which they had now to contend. The rocky and barren district of San Martino afforded them no resources; the defiles that led into the more fertile valleys were in the hands of the enemy; famine, fire, and sword, menaced them in every

direction ; and yet they refused to surrender. Even the fastnesses which in former persecutions protected their fathers, were untenable for any length of time, from want of provisions. Scarcely had they taken up a position, before they were obliged to abandon it, in search of supplies ; and it is an extraordinary fact, that for several weeks they had neither food nor ammunition but such as they took from the enemy. Under these circumstances, it was impossible that the little band should concentrate its force, or remain together. It was obliged to separate, and to act in detached parties. Engagements were therefore taking place almost every day, in different quarters of the valley ; the enemy never knew where they would be attacked next, and at length were so intimidated, that a whole company would fly at the sound of a single Waldensian fusil. One great thing in favour of this intrepid force was, that they had no women or children to encumber them, for these were still in Switzerland ; there was nothing to check the freedom of their movements, and few strong places to attack or defend, for what were strong places to them ?—As the winter set in, the hardships and deprivations of these poor men increased ; without any shelter

for several nights together, worn down by constant fatigue, and half famished for want of food, it is wonderful how they supported their courage."

Still, however, the Vaudois, under the protection of Divine Providence, kept in check for some time longer the powerful forces with which they were surrounded; but at length, finding their positions to be no longer tenable, they resolved to retire to Balsille, the only fort which now remained in their hands. This fort was situated at the entrance of the pass which conducted into the valley of S. Martino, and was so strongly fortified by nature, as well as by art, that it was deemed quite impregnable. The Vaudois set out from Lucerna, on their way to Balsille, towards the end of October, by a path which was so exceedingly difficult that the whole of their baggage was lost. "The road they were obliged to take," says Arnaud, "was so interrupted by precipices, that they were often obliged to crawl along on their hands and feet, and every man having enough to do to take care of himself, the hostages found means to escape. To prove how clearly Providence watched over them, two wounded men passed this road safely on horseback. Those who have never seen such kind of places cannot

form any idea of the danger and difficulty attached to them ; and those who have, will take this march for fiction ; however, that which is here related is the simple truth. And it may be further added, that when the Vaudois afterwards saw by day-light the places they had passed by night, they shuddered at the idea of the dangers which they had escaped."

In a few days after the Waldenses had arrived at Balsille, which they rendered still more impregnable by their fortifications, the French and Piedmontese forces commenced their attack. In vain, however, were their efforts to dislodge the Vaudois. Scarcely a single day passed without an engagement taking place, in which the besieged proved uniformly victorious ; while, from the nature of the place, and the terror which the Vaudois arms struck into the enemy, the most dreadful slaughter was made among the forces of the besiegers. And what was still more lamentable, the Vaudois, having no means of providing for the security of the prisoners, were compelled, for their own safety, to put to the sword every man that fell into their hands. The conflict consequently was most sanguinary ; and Arnaud himself often laments the cruel necessity

under which they were laid to shed the blood of their enemies.

The fearful odds in point of numbers, however, at length made the Vaudois give way, and the lower part of the fort of Balsille was carried by assault. On Sabbath the 30th April 1690, they saw the French, and fourteen hundred peasants, clearing away the snow, so that an attack was immediately apprehended. That attack was shortly afterwards made, yet still the Vaudois proved victorious, four hundred of the besiegers having perished, while not one man of the Waldenses was lost. On the morning of the 14th of May, however, a grand attack was made on Balsille by the whole of the besieging army, and by noon the French having expended one hundred and twenty-four shots of twelve and fourteen pounds weight, breaches were every where made in the walls. Nothing could now save the Waldenses but a speedy flight; and while preparations were making by the enemy for attacking their remaining intrenchments, Arnaud and his followers, having held out till evening, resolved at length to abandon the last of their strongholds in their native valleys, and take refuge on the tops of other mountains. "The im-

mense fires kept burning in the encampment," says Arnaud, "seemed to preclude all hope of their being able to retire under cover of the night, and well were they aware that the hand of God alone could deliver them in this hour of peril, as he had already done from so many former dangers. But at the very moment when a most cruel death seemed to be preparing for them, a fog arose before dark which lengthened the night, it being too short at that season of the year for their purpose. Having accurately observed the situation of the enemy's fires, the only chance of escape seemed to be across a frightful precipitous ravine. They proceeded down this chasm, some sliding on their backs, others scrambling with one knee on the ground, holding by the branches of trees; and feeling their way with their hands or feet. In this way they passed close to one of the French outposts, and ascended the mountain of Guignevert, in the direction of Salse, and two hours afterwards they were still climbing the mountain by steps which they had cut for themselves in the snow."

When the enemy entered the fort, and found not one Vaudois on whom to wreak their ven-

geance, their mortification was extreme.* Detachments were sent out in every direction to pursue the fugitives, who were hunted from one mountain to another, and exposed to privations and sufferings the most severe. Still, however, the Vaudois scorned to yield; and from their intimate knowledge of the numerous fastnesses with which they were surrounded, and the expertness which they displayed in seizing every opportunity which offered to attack their enemies, the Popish troops found it no easy matter to surprise, far less to subdue them.

While the contest remained in this uncertain, and, in regard to the Vaudois, dangerous condition, He who "will not suffer his people to be tried above what they are able to bear," brought it at length to a happy termination. The King of France and the Duke of Savoy having quarrelled between themselves, the arms of these persecutors were turned against each other.

* "The disappointment of the French," says Arnaud, "was embittered by the fact, that the day before the attack, they had proclaimed with the sound of the trumpet, that all who wished to witness the end of the Vaudois, should come to Pignerol on the morrow, where the Vaudois would be hung two and two; but, alas! the promised spectacle was changed for the mortifying one of the arrival of many waggons full of their own wounded."

Aware of the bravery of Arnaud and his little troop, and desirous of securing their services in his conflict with the French monarch, the Duke of Savoy offered them terms of peace exceedingly favourable. Ever loyal to their legitimate sovereign, notwithstanding all his ingratitude, the Waldenses joyfully acceded to his proposals. A treaty was soon signed, and a general amnesty proclaimed by the Duke, in which the exiles were permitted to return to their native valleys, their churches re-opened, and their houses and lands restored. When the Vaudois prisoners throughout Piedmont were released, the Duke of Savoy addressed them in the words following:—"You have but one God and one prince to serve: serve God and your prince faithfully. Till now we have been enemies, henceforth we must be good friends; others have been the cause of your misfortune, (meaning the King of France,) but if now, as you ought, you expose your lives for my service, I will expose mine also for yours; and while I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share."

Thus were the Waldenses once more settled in peace among their native mountains; in effecting which the hand of a superintending

and all-wise Providence must be apparent to every reflecting mind. The following are the reflections of Arnaud upon this interesting and surprising event, which cannot fail to be read with the liveliest emotion, and with unqualified assent.

“ By what means, unless by the peculiar favour of God, did Arnaud escape falling into the hands of the Swiss Catholics, who sought to lay hold of him, that he might suffer at Constance, like John Huss and Jerome of Prague? Is it not miraculous that a small band of men should force the bridge of Salabertran, guarded by 2500 men, kill 600 of them with the loss of fifteen only? Is it not as clear as the light of day, that it was by special permission that the Roman Catholics, who for three years had inhabited the houses of the Vaudois, should all fly on their approach, as well as the troops who ought to have defended them? Who but God could have inspired such a small party, without money and a thousand other requisites, courageously to undertake a war against the King of France, who then made all Europe tremble? And who but God could protect them, and cause them

gloriously to succeed, in spite of every effort used by two mighty powers to exterminate them?

“Can any one be weak enough to suppose, that without divine protection 367 Vaudois, shut up for eight months in La Balsille, sleeping on the earth, and subsisting only on bread and herbs, in small quantities, could force 10,000 French and 12,000 Piedmontese to retire with loss; and that after defending themselves for so long a time, they could have so happily escaped the fury of the French, who, still enraged at the obstinate resistance they met with from such a handful of men, had resolved to condemn them to be hung, and had actually brought executioners and ropes for that purpose?

“Weak as human nature is, every one must allow that the Almighty God fought for the Vaudois, assisting them whenever they were on the point of failing; and opening the eyes of their prince, and inducing him to seek their assistance against their joint enemy, after restoring them to their homes and own inheritance, as well as to their pure mode of worship. Does it not surpass imagination, that although these people were more than eighteen times engaged in battle during the efforts they made to pene-

trate into their valleys, they lost only thirty of their number ; while their enemies lost altogether 10,000, without effecting the object they had in view ?

“ After so many wonderful achievements, is it not clear that the arms of the enemy were blessed by the false benedictions of Rome, while theirs were strengthened by the protection of the great God, and King of kings ? ”

CHAP. IX.

Ingratitude of Victor Amadeus—banishment of three thousand of the Waldenses—establishment of these exiles in foreign countries—England and other states afford the Vaudois pecuniary relief—Popish plot to assassinate the inhabitants of La Torre—General Godin—march of the Vaudois for the preservation of their families—the assassination prevented—injustice of the Government—Piedmont falls under the yoke of France—increase of the salaries of the Vaudois pastors—abridgment of their privileges on the restoration of the house of Savoy—grievances under which the Waldenses still labour—successful efforts made by Mr Gilly to procure for them pecuniary relief—their present condition.

THE fidelity and valour of the Vaudois to the Duke of Savoy, were of the utmost importance to that prince in his wars with France, in consequence of which new promises were made to, and additional privileges conferred on, these

faithful people. But, alas ! the ungrateful Victor Amadeus soon forgot both his promises and the obligations under which he lay to his Vaudois subjects. Immediately on the termination of the war with France, he issued an edict, "ordering all the Vaudois who were not natives of the valleys of Piedmont, to leave his dominions on pain of death." Such was the recompense which Victor Amadeus rendered to a people, whose loyalty and fidelity he had repeatedly acknowledged, and through whose instrumentality his very throne had been preserved !

Petitions and remonstrances were of no avail. The ungrateful prince gave orders that his cruel edict should immediately be carried into effect ; in consequence of which the greater part of the inhabitants who had been established in the valleys within forty years, together with those in the valley of Perosa, amounting altogether to the number of three thousand persons, were banished, in 1698, from the territories of the Duke of Savoy. To lessen their sufferings, he promised to furnish them with provisions till they were beyond the limits of the country from which they were expatriated ; but no sooner had they begun their march, than this promise was

also broken ; and the poor exiles were left to procure for themselves a miserable subsistence. In this wretched condition they arrived at Geneva, with the intrepid Arnaud,* who was among the number of the sufferers, where they were received with the greatest kindness. Scattered throughout the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, they were supported for some time by private charity, and by contributions which were raised for them in England and Holland. At length colonies of these exiles were established in the dominions of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgraves of Hesse Cassel, Darmstadt, and Homberg, &c. ; and through the intercession of

* Since Arnaud's restoration he had taken a great deal of trouble in the settlement of each of the Vaudois in his own paternal habitation, and the difficulty was increased by the return of numbers supposed to be dead. Several of his Popish enemies, however, who had been galled at his bravery in leading the Waldenses to their native valleys, and still more at his unwearied care and defence of them from their surrounding foes, persuaded the Duke that Arnaud wished to excite the Vaudois to rebellion, and to form a republic. No explanation or defence was of any avail ; a high price was set on his head, and he was forced to leave the valleys, never to return. He proceeded to Wirtemberg, and made himself useful in arranging the affairs of the Waldensian colonists in that province, and spent the remaining part of his life at Schonberg. He died in September 1721, and his tomb, with a suitable inscription, is still shown.

William, King of England, and of the Dutch government, provision was made for the greater part of them in the possessions of the Duke of Wirtemberg. "The greatest number in the duchy of Wirtemberg," says Arnaud in the preface to his *La Rentrée Glorieuse*, "the others in the states of Baden, Hesse Darmstadt, and Hanau, forming in all fourteen churches, which, with the Reformed Church in the French colony of Constadt, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, together compose a synod. Of the ministers of the churches, seven, with their schoolmasters, are paid by his Britannic Majesty, who also, in his royal generosity, continues to honour M. Arnaud with a pension to bring up his family; four ministers are paid by the States General, and the rest by their adopted sovereigns and their own churches. Thus kindly favoured by the princes, under whose mild laws they have taken shelter, they live peaceably, praying God for the preservation of their benefactors," &c.

After the expulsion of the three thousand, liberty of conscience, not unmixed, however, with many vexations and trials, was enjoyed by the Vaudois who still inhabited the valleys of Piedmont. This was owing, under Divine Pro-

vidence, to the powerful protection of the Protestant States of Europe, and, in particular, to that of England. The pensions which had been granted by the English government to the Vaudois pastors from the national contributions which were made in 1655, were discontinued under the reigns of Charles II.* and James II.; but in 1689, William and Mary renewed these pensions, which were not withdrawn by the English government till 1807, although no remittances were made to the poor Waldenses after 1797.

The difficulties with which the Waldenses have had to contend since their restoration by Victor Amadeus, have been by no means of a trivial nature. Notwithstanding the numerous obligations under which that prince lay to these faithful people, he issued an edict in 1721, "banishing the pastors and teachers from the valley of Pragela, forbidding the assembling of more than ten persons together in said valley for any purpose whatever, under the severest

* Charles—who was as guilty as the Duke of Savoy in persecuting his conscientious subjects—when solicited by a Waldensian deputation to continue the payment settled by Cromwell, replied, "that he was no ways bound to execute the accounts of a usurper and a tyrant, nor to pay his debts."

penalties, and commanding all the inhabitants to present their children to a Popish priest for baptism within twenty-four hours after their birth." As a specimen of the numerous efforts which were made by the Romanists to destroy these unoffending people, the following plot must not be omitted. About the year 1729, the papists introduced a quantity of gunpowder under the church of Villaro, which was to be fired by a train from a monastery, to blow up the Waldensian congregation when engaged in divine worship. But a Protestant woman providentially having received from some humane person, a written note, containing a description of this "gunpowder plot," and urging her not to attend church that day, the diabolical stratagem was found out and defeated.

It is true, that by means of the interposition of foreign powers, the former scenes of open persecution were in a great measure prevented from being renewed ; but from time to time edicts of restriction were issued by the Dukes of Savoy, which pressed so heavily on the afflicted Vaudois, that England was again called upon to send them pecuniary relief. The pensions which were given by William and Mary, "being found

insufficient," says Peyran, "in 1770, a general collection was made,* the interest of which was paid under the name of the English National Subsidy. From these sums, the pastors received their incomes, amounting to £ 40 or £ 50, those of the most laborious parishes receiving the largest payment. The interest of the Dutch collections was applied to the salaries of the Dutch schoolmasters, widows of pastors, and retired pastors. And in Switzerland, studentships were established at the Universities of Geneva, Lausanne, and Basle, for the young Vaudois intended for the ministry."

The following extract from the "Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," will give the reader some idea of the honourable exertions which were made in England, both by the government and the nation, for the support of the poor and persecuted Vaudois:—"In the year 1768, his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant his royal letters patent in favour of the Protestants of the Vaudois churches in the valleys of Piedmont, to empower them to solicit the contributions of well disposed

* This collection was made in consequence of letters patent issued by our late venerated sovereign George III.

persons, 'to enable them to maintain the ministers, churches, schools, and poor, which they were not able to support in any tolerable manner.' His Majesty was also pleased to direct, that the amount of this charitable collection should be paid into the hands of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and be by them invested in government securities, the interest of which should be appropriated to the religious uses of the Protestant inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont. In obedience to these directions, the treasurer was empowered to receive the contributions, and carry into effect the gracious designs of his Majesty; since which period, annual stipends have been regularly paid to the thirteen pastors of the valleys of Piedmont, independently of certain small allowances to the widows of the deceased ministers. By the accumulation of the excess of interest, and other gratuities, the capital sum has been raised to £10,000, 3 per cent. bank annuities, which has enabled the Society to extend the gross amount of the salaries to £292 per annum, for which sum the thirteen pastors draw upon the treasurer."

The affairs of the Waldenses remained in a

state of comparative tranquillity till 1796. Previous to that period, it is true, they had been frequently exposed to many vexations, insults, and oppressions, from their Roman Catholic enemies, as well as to numerous hardships from the inhumanity of the Dukes of Savoy: But it was not till the above-mentioned year that renewed efforts were made to destroy them. Ever anxious to show their enmity to Protestants, a horrible plot was then projected by the Papists to assassinate all the inhabitants who were at home in San Giovanni and La Torre, while those who were fit for arms were nine miles distant,—a plot which, contrary to all expectation, was most providentially frustrated by the activity of General Godin, a Swiss officer.

The season which the assassins chose for carrying their murderous purpose into execution, was when there were none in La Torre but aged men and helpless women and children. Every man capable of bearing arms was then engaged in the conflict between France and the allied army; but, while the Vaudois were thus honourably endeavouring to repel an invading foe, measures were devised for effecting their ruin. The 14th of May, at sun-set, was the time ap-

pointed for falling on the defenceless victims. M. Odetti, a captain of the Piedmontese militia, though a zealous Roman Catholic, was struck with horror at the base design, and on the very day on which the work of slaughter was to commence, he gave information of it to General Godin, who then commanded the Piedmontese troops on the nearest frontier. Giving no credit to the intelligence of so foul a conspiracy, General Godin took no notice of the repeated messages which were sent, communicating the dismal tidings. At length, however, some of the wretched inhabitants themselves arrived. The dreadful news flew like lightning through the ranks of the Vaudois, and fathers and husbands were driven almost to desperation. A few hours only, and the unhappy victims to Popish cruelty would be no more. General Godin, therefore, gave orders to march, when a scene the most appalling was presented. Amidst the groan of horror, and the scream of despair, the frantic Vaudois flew, rather than marched, to the relief of their families. Precipices and torrents were utterly disregarded. They flung themselves from one rock to another, and plunged into rivers, dangers which nothing but desperation

could have induced them to encounter. To add to the afflicting scene, the rain fell in torrents, the roads were rendered impassable, and the very heavens seemed to be set against their honourable purpose. Unmindful of the overwhelming currents which poured from the mountains, they dashed through the floods which impeded their progress, and urged each other forward amidst shouts of despair, and the still more dreadful cries of distracted women who met them, and intimated that the work of slaughter was already commenced. At length they arrived within sight of La Torre, at the very moment when the bell tolled as the signal to shed the blood of the innocent. "We are too late," cried the wretched fathers and husbands, "but if we cannot prevent, we will revenge." The rush was tremendous: in a few seconds they were in the heart of La Torre, when numerous voices were heard from the inside of the barricaded houses, joyfully welcoming their intrepid deliverers.

The interposition of Divine Providence, throughout the whole of this affair, is most conspicuous. The few hours which intervened betwixt the time when the Vaudois received information of the intended massacre and the moment of its

accomplishment,—the distance of the road which they had to travel,—the difficulties and dangers which they had to surmount ere they reached La Torre,—all seemed to render the attempt at saving the devoted victims utterly impracticable. What is impossible with men, is, however, easily accomplished by God. The very storm of rain, which to the Vaudois, at first, almost cut off the last ray of hope, proved the means of arresting the arm of the assassins. Terrified at the deluge, their murderous purpose was delayed till the moment that the Vaudois troops appeared in La Torre, when the cowardly murderers fled, and escaped in the darkness of the night. To the honour of the Waldenses, they took no other revenge, than that of forwarding a list of the names of the assassins to the government: But to the disgrace of the Duke of Savoy, no notice whatever was taken of the matter; while General Godin, who had incurred the displeasure of the government by this act of kindness to the Vaudois, was shortly afterwards dismissed the service!!

Thus, till the present times, have the Waldenses been persecuted for righteousness sake,—a people “against whom,” to use the words of

Milner, when speaking of their forefathers, "malice could say no evil, but what admits the most satisfactory refutation: men distinguished for every virtue, and only hated because of godliness itself. Persecutors with a sigh owned, that, because of their virtue, they were the most dangerous enemies of the Church. But of what Church? Of that which, in the thirteenth century, and long before, had evidenced itself to be Antichristian. Here were not an individual or two, but very many real Christians, who held the real doctrines of Scripture, and carefully abstained from all the idolatry of the times. How obdurate is the heart of man by nature! Men could see and own the superior excellence of these persons, and yet could barbarously persecute them! What a blessed light is that of Scripture! By that the Waldenses saw the road to heaven, of which the wisest of their cotemporaries were ignorant, who, though called Christians, made no use of the oracles of God."

Little alteration took place in the affairs of the Vaudois till the year 1800, when Piedmont fell under the yoke of France. Previous to this period, it is true, a diminution had taken place in the payments to the Vaudois pastors from Hol-

land, and in 1797, those from England were stopped altogether.* But no sooner did Bonaparte become master of the Duke of Savoy's dominions, than, instead of resenting the zeal which the Waldenses had displayed against foreign invasion, he ordered their pastors to be enrolled among the clergy of the empire, assigned certain sums from the treasury of Turin as an increase to their diminished stipends, which raised their incomes to upwards of £60 per annum, and put the Vaudois in all respects upon an equal footing with the Roman Catholics.†

During this season of freedom, the Waldenses rebuilt the church of San Giovanni, which had been prohibited since the treaty of Pignerol in 1655. They also formed a number of schools in

* As already mentioned, the English government did not withdraw the pensions till 1807; but from some mismanagement on the part of those to whom the payments were entrusted, none were received by the Vaudois after 1797.

† The following conversation took place between Napoleon and Pyrani, one of the deputation whom the Waldenses appointed to wait on the French conqueror. *Nap.* You are one of the Protestant clergy? *Pyr.* Yes, Sire; and Moderator of the Vaudois Church. *N.* You are schismatics from the Romish Church? *P.* Not schismatics, I hope, but separatists from scruples of conscience, on grounds that we consider to be scriptural.

several of their valleys. And it is worthy of remark, that while they received from the government of France the same temporal support as the Romish clergy, for which they uniformly manifested their gratitude, they never omitted even in their discourses, expressing their obligations to the British for the kindness formerly displayed towards them by that nation.

But no sooner was the King of Sardinia restored to the throne, in 1814, than that prince refused to grant any privileges to the Waldenses beyond those which they enjoyed previous to the French revolution. The sums which were drawn

N. You have had some brave men among you. But your mountains are the best ramparts you can have. Cæsar found some trouble in passing your defiles with his legions. Is Arnaud's *La Rentrée Glorieuse* (Glorious Return) correct? *P.* Yes, Sire; believing our people to have been assisted by Providence. *N.* How long have you formed an independent Church? *P.* Since the time of Claudius, bishop of Turin, about the year 820. *N.* What stipends have your clergy? *P.* We cannot be said to have any fixed stipend at present. *N.* You used to have a pension from England. *P.* Yes, Sire; the kings of Great Britain were always our benefactors and protectors till lately. The royal pension is now withheld, because we are your Majesty's subjects. *N.* Are you organized? *P.* No, Sire. *N.* Draw out a memorial, and send it to Paris; you shall be organized immediately.

from the treasury of Turin were stopped, and the families of several of the Vaudois ministers were for a time reduced to such necessity, that they were obliged to depend upon the charity of their neighbours for subsistence. The King even ordered the intendant to compel the Waldenses to shut up the church of San Giovanni, as not being within the limits. On the Vaudois remonstrating, three conditions of opening the church were proposed; and the one accepted by them was, that a screen should be erected before it, that the Romanists might not be offended with the sight of such a temple of abomination! A similar concealment was built before the Vaudois school, that the ears of the *pious* Roman Catholics might not be assailed by hearing the heretical children repeat their lessons. Yet in San Giovanni the Papists are only forty in number, while the Waldenses are seventeen hundred.

It is true that both Charles Felix, the present sovereign of the Vaudois, and his predecessor Victor Emanuel, have treated their Protestant subjects with much greater lenity than was ever experienced under former princes,—have always received the Waldensian deputies with kindness, —and have placed them under the same laws as

their fellow subjects; yet none of them "can rise in the army above a sub-lieutenant; nor, in civil offices, beyond a notary, secretary, apothecary, or surgeon." The following are a few only of many grievances, under which the Vaudois still labour: "No Protestant can inherit or purchase land beyond the limitation of the Clusone and Pelice: No books of instruction or devotion, for the use of the Protestants, may be printed at Piedmont:* No Vaudois may practise, as a physician, surgeon, apothecary, attorney, or advocate, except among his own community, and within the limits," &c.

"Even in the syndicates of the communes of the three valleys," says Gilly, "there may not be a majority of Protestants. For example, of the five syndics, three must be Roman Catholics. This is a crying evil in such places as Bobbio and San Giovanni, where the Protestants are as 1700 to 40, and the Roman Catholic population of the lowest order. It frequently happens that a duly qualified Romanist cannot be found in the commune, to complete the number; and that the very refuse of the people have been nominated,

* A very heavy duty, amounting almost to a prohibition, is laid upon works imported into the valleys.

to keep within the letter of the law. The Protestants are obliged to observe the festivals of the Papists, and to abstain from work on those days. This is another excessive hardship. There is one holiday, at least, every week, and sometimes two or three; so that the Protestant peasant has seldom more than five days in the week for labour, and sometimes only three. The Sabbath-day he keeps with scrupulous observance, while the Roman Catholic cares not for violating it. A poor Vaudois peasant was accused of irrigating his little meadow upon a festival day, and condemned to pay a fine, for not observing the sanctity of a saint's day. Fifteen sous a day in the winter, and twenty in the summer, is the utmost a peasant can earn: take away two or three days from his weekly earnings, and what a pittance is left! Roasted chestnuts, potatoes, and bread, if any, of the blackest and most ordinary sort, are the principal food he can obtain. The Protestants have to pay a land tax of $20\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; while the Roman Catholics pay but 13 per cent." &c. &c.

With a philanthropy which does honour to himself, and may put to the blush many former travellers to that small but interesting portion of

the Protestant world, Mr Gilly, who lately visited Piedmont, has advocated the claims of the poor and afflicted Vaudois in a manner which has awakened the sympathy, and excited the generosity of the British nation. Through his exertions and those of the Vaudois Committee, the English government has renewed the royal grant, to give the former pensions to the Waldensian pastors ; and large sums have been collected otherwise, for the purpose of relieving the wants of that interesting people.

In 1824, the Waldenses obtained a formal grant from the King of Sardinia, to erect an hospital in Copia, near La Torre, and a dispensary in San Martino. The annual income of the hospital, chiefly received from England, Prussia, and Holland, is nearly £ 500. A new college also has been lately established at La Torre, for languages, mathematics, and divinity. This college was founded by an act of private munificence. M. Revel, formerly pastor at Macel, is principal, whose salary, with that of ten students, as exhibitors, commenced in 1831. The establishment of this seminary for Vaudois students of divinity, must prove of immense benefit to the Waldensian Church. Formerly the students

were obliged to study at the colleges of Geneva, Basle, or Lausanne, where they were exposed to the danger of being corrupted by Arian and Socinian doctrines. Unsound doctrine having indeed begun to appear in San Giovanni, caused, in 1830, a secession from the Vaudois Church ; but as the minister who held these unsound principles is since dead, it is to be hoped that the partial breach which has been occasioned in this ancient church will soon be healed.

We must not omit also mentioning, that before the year 1825, " twelve hundred and seventy Bibles, and a still greater number of Testaments, had been distributed in the valleys by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and by the institutions of Basle, Lausanne, and Geneva. In 1826, eleven hundred more Bibles were sent from London, all free. The Edinburgh Bible Society have a design of publishing a new edition of the Patois Bible for the use of the Waldenses, and others who speak that language." The inhabitants of the valleys, however, have not only received the bounty of others, but, to the utmost of their ability, have exercised the same spirit of Christian benevolence. They contributed, in 1825, three thousand francs for the Hollanders who had suffered by an inun-

dation. A Bible Society, too, was formed in the valleys in 1816, in connection with the British and Foreign Society.

The following is a list of the Waldensian Churches, Ministers, &c. in 1833.

Parishes.	Protestants.	Papists.	Ministers' Names.
San Giovanni,	1700	40	J. J. Bonjour.
Angrogna,	2000	150	F. Peyrot.
La Torre, -	1800	200	Peter Bert.
Villaro, -	2000	200	Francis Gay.
Bobbio, -	1700	220	G. Muston.
Rora, -	700	30	J. Monastier.
Prarustino,	1800	60	M. Rostaing, jun.
Roccipiatto,			
S. Bartelemeo, &c. }			
S. Germano, -	1000	150	John Monnet.
Pramolo, -	1200	30	M. Vincon.
Pomaretto, }	1100	100	J. Jalla.
Envers,			
Pinachi, }			
Prali, -	800	35	James Peyrani.
Rodoretto, -	400	45	Amadee Bert.
Villa Secca, }	1200	450	M. A. Rostaing, <i>Moderator.</i>
Faetto,			
Riclarretto,			
Bovilla,			
San Martino,			
Traversa,			
Cheneviere, }	700	160	Timoleon Peyrani.
Maneglia,			
Salsa,			
Chabrant, }	500	40	M. J. J. Bonjour. M. J. Revel, <i>Principal.</i>
Macel, -			
La Torre College,			
	18,600	1910	

We shall close this outline of the Vaudois history, with the following additional particulars regarding the Vaudois, from the pens of Mr Hugh Dyke Acland and Mr Blair :—" The present condition of the Waldenses," says the former of these writers, " will be found such as well accords with the sympathy which was so munificently expressed by our forefathers, and such as merits a continuance of it from ourselves.—In spite of those obstacles which effect, in a greater or less degree, every commune, the pastors are indefatigable, alike in the dangers of an Alpine winter, and in the overwhelming heat of an Italian summer, in their visits to all parts of their communes, whether to comfort the sick, examine the schools, baptize infants, or impart private religious instruction.—All the pastors are learned, and some are eminently so ; but it is a melancholy fact, that the usefulness and elegance of their learning are not unfrequently lost in the sad necessity of spending the little time left to them from pastoral duties, in providing for their earthly wants, and that too by the same means as the poorest peasantry. The late moderator Peyran was esteemed one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, but the consequence of devoting his time

to literary pursuits has been, that he died in debt, and left his children penniless."

"The present Waldensian territory," says Mr Blair, "is about fifty square miles, a great part of which is occupied with mountains, and some of them are cultivated with great industry. Little terraces are formed on the shelves and crevices of the rocks, which bear a scanty crop of potatoes and buck wheat, introduced about thirty years ago. These productions, with chesnuts and rye, form frequently the principal food of the inhabitants, yet common wheat and vines are produced in many places. Religion has had its crisis during the war of the French Revolution, but better days are returning. The happiest effects may be anticipated so far as the unadulterated Bible is circulated. Practical Christianity is at least not declining. The Lord's day is in general decently observed. About the half of the people attend the church, where men and women occupy different divisions of the house. Religious services are observed at marriages and baptisms, but not at funerals, excepting a short prayer."

CHAP. X.

Principles of the Waldenses collected from their own writings—statement of their doctrines by their adversaries—by an inquisitor—by Æneas Sylvius—by Seisselius—their opinions on infant baptism—testimonies from modern writers that they have in general preserved their opinions unchanged till the present time—their church government—their character—testimonies in their favour by their enemies—the Bishop of Cavaillon deputed a monk to confer with them—report of their practices laid before Louis XII.—character of the modern Vaudois—by Mr Acland—by Mr Gilly.

HAVING briefly traced the history of the Waldenses, from the earliest period of which we have any information respecting them, till the present time, we shall now give a concise account of their principles and character.

Their doctrines, which are strictly Protestant, will be best learned from their own confessions

of faith,* from one of which, presented to Ladislaus, King of Bohemia, in 1508, the following summary is collected:—That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the only rule of faith and practice, in contradistinction to all human writings and traditions: That there are Three Persons in the one Godhead, to whom alone all religious adoration ought to be given: That all men by nature are guilty and depraved; and from that natural depravity every actual transgression proceeds: That no man, either in whole or in part, can perform any work which can entitle him to the favour of God, or merit for himself eternal salvation: That eternal life can be obtained only through Christ, who by his obedience to the divine law in the room of the ungodly, and meritorious sacrifice for sin in his death, has made complete satisfaction to the offended justice of God: That it is through faith in Christ alone that we are reconciled to God, and made partakers of everlasting life, to the exclusion of all human merit:† That faith itself,

* See Appendix.

† “By faith in Christ,” say they, “men are through mercy freely justified, and attain salvation and remission of sins by Christ, without any human help and merit; and that for his sake only, and for his merits alone God

as well as every other grace, is the gift of God, and is wrought in the heart by the operation of the Holy Spirit : That true faith is uniformly accompanied by genuine repentance and a holy life ; and that, though good works can never entitle any man to justification or salvation, yet they are evidences of a living faith in the Redeemer : That no man, while in this world, can obey the law of God perfectly : That human traditions, unless founded on, and agreeing with, the word of God, are to be wholly disregarded : That the Lord Jesus Christ alone is Head of the Church : That there are only two sacraments, viz. baptism and the Lord's supper, " by means whereof," to use their own words, " believers are made fellow partakers of the merits of Christ ; but that they do not confer grace nor justifying faith upon those who are not first inwardly awakened by the Holy Spirit : " *That children ought to be baptized ;* " Children," say they, " are to be baptized unto salvation, and to be consecrated to Christ, according to his word, ' Suffer little children to come unto me,' &c. : That the cup as well as the bread ought to be given to the people in the or-
is pacified and reconciled, doth love and preserve us, and adopt us as his children."

dinance of the Lord's Supper : That the ministers of God's word ought to be rightly ordained, according to the rule prescribed by Christ and his apostles : And that rulers and magistrates ought to be obeyed in all things not inconsistent with the word of God. They likewise condemn all the unscriptural doctrines and superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Popish Church ; for their rejection of which they have been exposed, from age to age, to sufferings and to death.

If we turn to those authors who have written against them, we will find the above and many other Protestant doctrines affirmed to have been held by the Vaudois. One Papal inquisitor of the fourteenth century accuses them of holding the following tenets : " That the Church of Rome is not the Church of Christ, but an assembly of ungodly men ; that all vices and sins reign in that Church : whereas they are the true Church of Christ. They insist that the Pope is the head and leader of all error ; that the Popes and their bishops, on account of the wars they foment, are murderers ; that our obedience is due to God alone, and not to prelates, which they found on Acts iv. 9. ; that none in the Church ought to be greater than their brethren, according to Matth.

xx. 25. ; that no man ought to kneel to a priest ; that the clergy ought not to enjoy any temporal possessions ; that it is wrong to endow and found churches and monasteries, and that nothing ought to be bequeathed to churches by way of legacy. They condemn the clergy for their idleness, saying they ought to work with their hands as the apostles did ; they reject all the titles of prelates, as Pope, Bishop, &c. ; they affirm that no man ought to be forcibly compelled in matters of faith. They condemn all the sacraments of the Church, (excepting baptism and the eucharist, in the observance of which, the writer proceeds to show, that the Waldenses completely differed from the Romish Church.) They reject the canon of the mass, the kiss of peace, and the order forbidding the clergy to marry. They declare that the preaching of a wicked priest cannot profit any body, and that which is uttered in the Latin tongue, can be of no use to those laymen who do not understand it. They hold that the Holy Scripture is of the same efficacy in the vulgar tongue as in Latin. They can say a great part of the Old and New Testaments by heart. They reject absolution, which they expect alone from God. They pray

to no saint, never read the liturgy, make a mock of the saints' miracles, and despise their relics. They contend that the doctrine of Christ and his apostles is sufficient to salvation, without any church statutes and ordinances, and affirm that the traditions of the Church were no better than the traditions of the Pharisees. They condemn all approved ecclesiastical customs which they do not read of in the gospel, such as the observation of Candlemas, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and the feast of Easter ; and deride and mock at all dedications, consecrations, and benedictions, of candles, ashes, palm branches, oil, fire, holy water, &c. The images and pictures in the church they pronounce to be idolatrous. They maintain that the offices for the dead, masses for the deceased, offerings, funeral pomps, last wills, &c. are of no avail to departed souls. All these errors they hold, because they deny purgatory, saying that there are only two ways, the one, of the elect to heaven, the other, of the damned to hell, according to Eccles. xi. 3."

Æneas Sylvius, another celebrated Popish writer, says that the Waldenses hold, " that the Pope of Rome is not superior to other bishops ; that the priesthood itself is not a dignity, for that grace

and virtue alone give the preference ; that there is no purgatory fire, the souls of men at death being either advanced to endless glory, or doomed to endless misery ; that it is vain to pray for the dead ; that the images of God and of the saints ought to be destroyed ; that the blessings of palms, &c. is ridiculous ; that no capital sin ought to be tolerated under pretence of avoiding a greater evil ; that he who is guilty of mortal sin, ought not to enjoy any ecclesiastical dignity ; that confirmation, celebrated with anointing, and extreme unction, are none of the sacraments of Christ ; that auricular confession is a piece of foppery ; that every one ought in his closet to confess his sins to God ; that baptism ought to be administered without the addition of holy oil ; that the use of church-yards is vain, and nothing but a covetous invention, and that it signifies nothing in what ground the bodies of the dead are laid ; that to build churches, monasteries, and oratories to God, under the idea that the Divine goodness could be more favourably found in them than in other places, is limiting the Divine Majesty, whose temple is the universe ; that the priestly vestments, altar, ornaments, palls, corporals, chalices, &c. are of no efficacy ; that it is

vain to implore the suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in heaven, seeing they cannot help us; that it is to no purpose to spend one's time in singing and saying the canonical hours; and that we are to cease from working on no day except the Lord's day."

Many similar testimonies of the Vaudois principles, from the pens of Popish writers, might be given. Some Roman Catholic authors, however, have not scrupled to charge the Waldenses with holding the most unscriptural tenets;* but others, who had the best means of obtaining in-

* Among the calumnies of their adversaries, the following may serve as a specimen. In Provence they were called dogs, and cut-purses. In Italy, Insabathas, that is, regardless of Sabbaths, because they did not observe the festivals of saints. In Germany they were styled Gazares, a term expressive of every thing wicked. In Flanders they were denominated Turpulins, that is, inhabitants with wolves, because they were often obliged to dwell in woods and deserts. They were also frequently accused of Arianism, because they rejected the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, their enemies supposing that they denied the divinity of Christ. Nay, to such a length was the malice of their adversaries carried, that they were accused of being sorcerers, licentious persons, and idolators, in worshipping their pastors, though they refused to render homage to the saints. But "wisdom is justified of her children." Their principles and practice have been exposed for ages to the keenest scrutiny, and though often tried as by fire, these trials have served to make both shine with redoubled lustre.

formation, accuse them of holding no other tenets than those which they have laid to the charge of other Protestants. In addition to what has been already given, we shall add only that of Seisselius, Archbishop of Turin, who wrote against the Vaudois in the fifteenth century. After enumerating a number of their doctrines, precisely similar to those which are stated above, Seisselius adds, " They say that they alone observe the evangelic and apostolical doctrine, on which account, by an intolerable impudence, they usurp the name of the *Catholic* Church. Their barbs, or pastors, do greatly err, because they are neither sent of God, nor by the pastors of the (Romish) Church, but of the devil, as appears from their damnable doctrine. They say that we ought not to have any set form of prayer, except it appear that it was composed by an inspired author, and approved of God. Their barbs have often preached this doctrine, to abolish the service of the glorious virgin, and of other saints. They do not think that Christians ought to say the angelical salutation of the mother of God, alleging that it has not the form of a prayer, but a salutation ; but that they do, only that they may rob the virgin of this service, saying

that it is not lawful to worship or serve her any more than the rest of the saints. They say that the saints cannot take notice of what is done here below. They detest and abhor all images, and the sign of the cross, much more than we honour them. They affirm that a lie is always a mortal sin, and make a mock of all the articles which the Roman Catholics have recourse to, with the view of making it appear to them plausible, that the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are changed into the real body and blood of Christ."

We might add, were it necessary, in corroboration of the similarity of the Vaudois doctrines to those of the Protestants, testimonies from the pens of Luther, Beza, Bullinger, Œcolampadius, &c. But enough has been produced from the writings of their avowed enemies and persecutors, to show, as one celebrated Papist declares, that "they held nearly the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists;" or as another, who wrote subsequent to the Reformation, affirmed of the Protestants, "that their heresies are founded upon those of the Waldenses."

As, however, it has been disputed whether or not the Vaudois baptised their infants, we shall

give here a few extracts on this subject from their own writings. In their work against Anti-christ, &c. dated 1120, the Waldenses say, "That which is of no necessity in the administration of baptism, is the exorcism, the breathing on, the sign of the cross upon the *infant's* breast and forehead," &c.*—a sentence which does not condemn the baptism of infants, but testifies only against the superstitious ceremonies of Popery in the observance of the ordinance. In what is called the Ancient Discipline of the Evangelical Churches of Piedmont, written several hundred years before the Reformation, balls and dances are condemned, on account of their tendency to lead those who frequent them, to break that agreement which they made with God at their baptism, when their parents or god-fathers promised for them to renounce the devil and all his pomp. And in another declaration of their faith, entitled the Spiritual Almanack, the Vaudois expressly affirm, that they "bring their children to be baptised, which ought to be done by parents, or those to whom the infants are most nearly allied."

* Mr Jones chooses to leave out, or give only partially, those sentences which completely establish that the Vaudois baptised their children.

Additional proofs might be added, were it necessary ; but we shall now give the following extract from Gilly, which fully corroborates their own avowed sentiments on this point, in several of their ancient confessions.* “ Nothing,” says that judicious writer, “ can be more false than the calumny that the Vaudois object to infant baptism. One of the arguments used by the petitioners of the commune of San Giovanni, when they implored permission to re-open their new church, was, that in the winter time, their poor infants suffered dreadfully from the severity of the cold, in being carried to such a distance as Angrogna, to be publicly baptised..... The ninth Echantillon of the old manuscript exposition,† gives this explanation of the baptismal ceremony, and leaves it to the discretion of the parties to have the rite performed by sprinkling or immersion : ‘ The first sacrament is called baptism, or, in our language, the washing by water, either from a river or fountain ; and it should be administered in the name of the

* See page 258, and Appendix, No. I. *Second Confession*.

† This is a very ancient manuscript, and consequently contains the sentiments of the primitive Vaudois.

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, signifying that by the grace of God, and a participation of the benefits of his Son Jesus Christ, who has redeemed us, and by the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, who imprints the living faith in our hearts, the sins of those who are baptised will be pardoned, and they will be received in grace.' The exposition afterwards proceeds to set forth, 'The more visible and material baptism does not make a person either good or bad, but baptism is administered in the full congregation of the faithful, in order that he who is thus received in the Church, may be reputed and held by all as a brother and a Christian, and that all may pray for his becoming a Christian in heart, as much as he is one outwardly. *It is for this purpose that infants are presented for baptism.*' "

The doctrines which were held by the ancient Waldenses, are in general adhered to by their descendants at the present time ; and they may now "be seen," says Mr Lowther, "not only inhabiting their ancient territory, but worshipping the God of their forefathers, in all the primitive simplicity of their ancestors."—"In principles, habits, and manners," says Mr Bridge,

"they approach more nearly to the primitive professors of Christianity than any other community of Christians now existing." And adds Mr Gilly, "they profess to constitute the remains of the pure and primitive Christian Church; and those who would question their claims cannot show, either by history or tradition, that they ever subscribed to the Popish rituals, or bowed down before any of the idols of the Romish Church."

The following account of their church government, (which is very little different from what we call *Presbyterian*,) and of the manner of choosing their pastors, is given by the Waldenses themselves:—"All who are to be ordained as pastors among us, while they are yet at home, entreat us to receive them into the ministry, and desire that we would pray to God that they may be rendered capable of so great a charge. They are to learn by heart all the chapters of St Matthew and St John, and all the canonical epistles, and a good part of the writings of Solomon, David, and the prophets. Afterwards, having exhibited proper testimonials of their learning and conversation, they are admitted as pastors by the imposition of hands. The junior

pastors must do nothing without the license of their seniors ; nor are the seniors to undertake any thing without the approbation of their colleagues, that every thing may be done among us in order. We pastors meet together once every year, to settle our affairs in a *general synod*. Those whom we teach afford us food, and raiment, and good-will, and without compulsion. The money given us by the people is carried to the said general synod, is there received by the elders, and applied partly to the supply of travellers, and partly to the relief of the indigent. If a pastor among us shall fall into a gross sin, he is ejected from the community, and debarred from the function of preaching."

There are at present, as formerly stated, fifteen Vaudois pastors in the three valleys, who, amidst many privations, labour incessantly for the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and dispense to them the ordinance of the Lord's Supper four times a year. The affairs of the Vaudois Church are regulated by a synod, consisting of the fifteen ministers, and one elder from each church or congregation. This assembly makes choice of its moderator, and has always possessed the chief authority in the Vaudois Church. An annual

meeting used to be held in September, except in times of persecution ; and on one occasion, it is stated, that there were no fewer than a hundred and forty ministers present at a synod in the valley of Pragela. " The discipline of the church," says Mr Acland, " expressly forbade recourse to law. All disputes were referred in the first instance to the elders ; from them by appeal to the consistory of the parish ; the consistory appointed arbitrators, to whom, if necessary, the moderator was added as super-arbitrator. The consistory was composed of all the elders and the deacon ; the elders, one or more in every village, were not chosen without a rigid examination, and the deacon was elected from among them. The office of the latter, was to take charge of and distribute the alms, and account for them to the pastor."

" Four of the best informed pastors," says a recent visitor to the valleys, " all agreed in the denial of any Episcopal jurisdiction in their Church at any time, which assertion will be found supported by the three most esteemed histories.* Some account of the regents may

* Several writers imagine, however, that the ancient Waldenses were not averse to Episcopacy, and that they

be interesting, as an intermediate class of society between laity and clergy. They are persons of a good moral character, and sufficient information, elected by the pastor and his elders, and their office is for life, unless in case of misbehaviour. Their duties are to instruct the children of their parish in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and to teach them to understand the religious books and expositions which are put into their hands." The present population of the three valleys amounts to about 2500, about 1900 only of which are Roman Catholics. They are confined entirely within the three valleys of Lucerna, Perosa, and San Martino, and there exists an edict rendering them incapable of purchasing beyond these limits.

In regard to the character of the ancient Waldenses, their bitterest persecutors were forced to bear testimony to the uprightness, integrity, and purity of life, of these witnesses for the truth. "These heretics," says an inquisitor who wrote against them, "are known by their manners and conversation, for they are orderly

formerly had bishops in the persons of their moderators ; yet they candidly confess that this order of church government is not now observed among them.

and modest in their behaviour and deportment. They avoid all appearance of pride in their dress; they neither indulge in finery of attire, nor are they remarkable for being mean or ragged. They get their livelihood by manual industry, as day-labourers or mechanics, and their teachers are weavers or tailors. They are not anxious about amassing riches, but content themselves with the necessaries of life. They are chaste, temperate, and sober, and abstain from anger. Even when they work, they either learn or teach. In like manner, also, their women are very modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of speech, especially abstaining from lies or swearing."—"Their heresy excepted," says Claudius Seisselius, Archbishop of Turin, "they generally live a purer life than any other Christians. They are perfectly irreprehensible, and without reproach among men, addicting themselves to the service of God with all their might." Yet this prelate not only wrote against, but joined in persecuting them, simply because they would not submit to all the absurdities of the Popish Church!

Lielenstentius, a Dominican, when speaking of the Waldenses of Bohemia, says, "In morals

and life they are good, true in words, unanimous in brotherly love, but their faith is incorrigible and vile." In what respects their faith was vile, has been already shown, and is candidly acknowledged by Samuel de Cassini, a Franciscan, to be, "that they denied the Church of Rome to be the holy mother Church, and would not obey her traditions."

Thuanus the historian, a Roman Catholic, thus describes the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere in Dauphiny:—"Their clothing," says he, "is of the skins of sheep—they have no linen. They inhabit seven villages; their houses are constructed of flint stone, with a flat roof, covered with mud, which when spoiled or loosened by rain, they smooth again with a roller. In these they live with their cattle, separated from them, however, by a fence; they have besides, two caves set apart for particular purposes, in one of which they conceal their cattle, in the other themselves, when hunted by their enemies. They live on milk and venison, being by constant practice excellent marksmen. Poor as they are, they are content, and live separate from the rest of mankind. One thing is very remarkable, that persons externally so

savage and rude, should have so much moral cultivation. They can read and write. They know French sufficient for the understanding of the Bible and singing of Psalms. You can scarcely find a boy who cannot give an intelligent account of the faith they profess. In this indeed *they resemble their brethren of the other valleys*. They pay tribute with a good conscience, and the obligation of this duty is peculiarly noted in the confessions of their faith. If, by reason of the civil wars, they are prevented from doing this, they carefully set apart the sum, and at the first opportunity pay it to the king's tax gatherers."

During the time of the great persecutions of the inhabitants of Merindol and Provence in 1540, the Bishop of Cavaillon sent a monk to hold a conference with them, in order to convince them of their errors, and that thus the further effusion of blood might be prevented. But the monk soon returned in confusion, acknowledging that in his whole life he had never known so much of the Scriptures as he had learned during the few days he had been conversing with those heretics. The Bishop, however, sent a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, at

Paris. But one of them on his return confessed, that he had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of the children in their catechisms, than by all the disputations that he had ever before heard.

Two ecclesiastics, deputed by Francis I. to visit the Waldenses of Provence, returned with the following account of the *heretics*, as they were termed, to that monarch:—"They are a laborious race of people, who, about two hundred years ago, emigrated from Piedmont, to dwell in Provence. Betaking themselves to husbandry and feeding of cattle, they have restored many villages destroyed by the wars, and rendered other desert and uncultivated places extremely fertile by their industry. By the information given us in the said country of Provence, we find them to be a very peaceable people, beloved by their neighbours, men of good behaviour, of godly conversation, faithful to their promises, and punctual in paying their debts. They are a charitable people, not permitting any among them to fall into want. They are, moreover, liberal to strangers, and their travelling poor, as far as their ability extends. And the inhabitants of Provence affirm, that they are a people who cannot endure

to blaspheme, or name the devil, or swear at all, unless in making some solemn contracts, or in judgment. Finally, they are well known by this, that if they happen to be cast into any company where the conversation is loose or blasphemous, to the dishonour of God, they instantly withdraw."

Importuned by the calumnies of informers, Louis XII. of France also sent two respectable persons into Provence to make inquiry, and return him a faithful account of the Waldenses. They accordingly reported, "That in visiting all their parishes and places of worship, they found no images, nor signs of the ornaments belonging to the mass, nor any Romish ceremonies; but that they could not discover any marks of the crimes with which they were charged. On the contrary, the Sabbath was strictly observed, their children were baptised according to the rules of the primitive Church, and instructed in the articles of the Christian faith, and the commandments of God." Having heard the report, Louis declared with an oath, "They are better men than myself or my people."

Such are the testimonies of a few of the enemies and persecutors of the Vaudois, to the strict

purity and unimpeachable integrity of their lives. To these we might add, were it necessary, those of the Reformers, and of many eminent Protestant historians. Enough, however, has been stated relative to the ancient Vaudois; and we shall now conclude this short account of these faithful followers of the Lamb, by giving a few testimonies to the character of the present inhabitants of Piedmont, collected from the works of modern writers.

“Among the most striking instances of the piety and virtue of the Waldenses of the present time,” says Mr Acland, “is the absence of drunkenness, swearing, sensual profligacy, and that inordinate love of gain, to the sacrifice of all honour and honesty, too frequently met with in the neighbouring population. They are also distinguished by a more respectful demeanour to their superiors, more attention to cleanliness, and less to gaudy show, more industry, and singularly enough, more loyalty to their sovereign.”

“The Vaudois,” says Mr Sims, “preserve from their forefathers a sincere respect for pure and undefiled religion. They are remarkably honest, hospitable, and humane; and even give

what they can spare to the destitute of other communities."

And says Mr Jackson, "I have no hesitation in saying, that I think the Vaudois, even in their present circumstances, the most moral people in Europe. During my residence in the valleys of Piedmont, I never saw an instance of drunkenness, nor was offended by hearing a single oath of swearing or blasphemy."

"Much as I was prejudiced in favour of this extraordinary race," says Mr Gilly, "before I became personally acquainted with their character, that acquaintance has increased my admiration of them. If innocence, and pure religion, can be said to reign any where, it is here; and all my enquiries and researches have had the effect of bringing the firm conviction to my mind, that they are one of those favoured people whom the arm of the Almighty has providentially shielded, for purposes best known to his inscrutable wisdom. Their morals correspond with their faith; and their lives and conversations testify, that the doctrines they profess are those of the truth; for nothing short of a firm persuasion that they are burning and shining lights, which are not to be put out, could have given

them courage and perseverance sufficient to withstand the temptations to which their spiritual integrity has been exposed, or to resist the strong hand which has been lifted up against them for more than ten centuries."

We cannot close this historical sketch of these interesting people, without adding the following account from Gilly of the labours of the late Felix Nef, among several of the Vaudois communities, who seems to have been overlooked for many ages both by friends and foes.

"In 1823, Felix Nef, a young Swiss probationer, penetrated the most secluded Waldensian retreats in the High Alps. In Frassiniera and Queiras, some of the witnesses remained from the thirteenth century, who had escaped the persecutions under Louis XIV. and XV. The refugees from Piedmont had often gone to Dormileuse, the highest habitable place in Europe, and there built a village on the edge of the glacier, where they subsisted with only a few copies of the Scriptures without school or pastor. In the neighbouring mountains were many families who called themselves members of the primitive church, and lived in seventeen or eighteen remote villages,

over an extent of fifty miles in diameter. They frequently received baptism from the Romish priests, but had little other connection with that church. The village of Dormilleuse is the only one that never submitted externally to the Romish church. No individual ever bowed his knee to an image. The people long received visits from the Waldensian ministers, and on the edict of liberty to Protestants by Louis XVI. in 1785, these mountaineers more openly avowed themselves. Henry Oberlin, son of the celebrated pastor of Ban de la Roche, ministered several months in this place, but his premature death at Waldbach, 16th November 1817, in consequence of a severe cold caught in the South of France, terminated his visits in Frassiniera and Queiras. Here was the scene of the labours of Mr Nef, who for five years preached, taught, and administered the sacraments in these parts. He often travelled by steps cut in the ice. The people being obliged to labour all day, attended him at night. Numbers travelled forty miles to hear the gospel. In many instances, families live for seven months in the year quite beside the manure of the cow-shed or stable, which is cleaned only once a-year. Clothes are dirty and the diet coarse. The bread

is made of unsifted rye meal, baked only once a year. In La Comb, the sun is never seen for six months. The inhabitants speak Patois, and at first they fled from Mr Nef, but he attracted them by music. He pleased them much by teaching them to form a canal to water the meadows. He founded a school, in which he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography, always beginning and ending with religious instruction. Some of the people did not even know of the existence of other countries. This indefatigable, most devoted, and self-denied servant of God, sunk under his extraordinary exertions."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ANCIENT WALDENSIAN CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

First Confession, dated 1120.

1. We believe, and firmly hold, all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, which is called the Apostles' Creed, accounting for heresy whatsoever differs from, and is not agreeable to, the said twelve articles.

2. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

3. We acknowledge for the holy canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible, viz. (Here follow the names of the books of the Old and New Testaments, in the order in which they are placed in the received canon.)

4. The above mentioned books teach us, that there is one God, all powerful, all wise, and all

good ; who through his goodness has made all things. For he created Adam after his own image and likeness, and similitude ; but through the envy of the devil, and his own disobedience, sin entered into the world, and we became sinners in and by Adam.

5. That Christ was promised to our fathers who received the law ; so that by the law, having a just idea of their sins, and their want of justice and insufficiency, they desired the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins, and accomplish the law in himself.

6. That Christ was born at the time appointed by God the Father ; that is to say, at the time when iniquity abounded, to shew that it was not for the sake of our good works, for all were sinners, but that he who is faithful might display towards us his grace and mercy.

7. That Christ is our life, our peace, and our righteousness ; our shepherd, advocate, sacrifice, and priest, who died for the salvation of all believers, and rose again for their justification.

8. We firmly believe that there is no other Mediator and Advocate with God the Father, but Jesus Christ. And as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace, which

we believe concerning all other saints, who expect in heaven the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment.

9. Also, we believe that after this life, there are but two places; the one for the saved, and the other for the damned; the which two places we call paradise and hell, absolutely denying that purgatory invented by Antichrist, and forged contrary to the truth.

10. We have always accounted as an unspeakable abomination before God, all those inventions of men, viz. the feasts and the vigils of saints, the water which they call holy, the abstaining from flesh upon certain days, and similar things; but especially the mass.

11. We abominate as Antichristian, all those human inventions which are a trouble or a prejudice to the liberty of the spirit.

12. We believe that the sacraments are signs of the holy thing, or visible forms of the invisible grace, accounting it good that the faithful sometimes use the said signs or visible forms, if it may be done. However, we believe and hold, that the aforesaid faithful may be saved without receiving the aforesaid signs, in case they have no place nor any means to use them.

13. We acknowledge no other sacraments, but Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

14. We ought to honour the secular power, by our submission, obedience, and paying of tribute.

Second Confession, dated 1532.

1. Divine service cannot be performed but in spirit and in truth ; because God is a Spirit, and whosoever will worship, must do so in spirit.

2. All those that have been, or shall be saved, were elected by God before the foundation of the world.

3. All who are appointed to salvation will be saved, having been chosen by God before the foundation of the world.

4. Whoever upholds free-will, absolutely denies predestination and the grace of God.

5. No work can be called good, but what is commanded by God to be performed, and none bad, but what he forbids.

6. A Christian may swear by the name of God, without disobeying what is written in Matth. v. provided he does not take the name of God in vain. And it is not in vain, when the oath is for the glory of God, and the salvation of a man's neighbour. In like manner, a

man may swear before a magistrate, because he that fills that office, whether a believer or not, holds his power of God.

7. Auricular confession is not commanded by God. According to the word of God, a true Christian ought to confess to God alone, to whom belongeth all the glory and honour. There is, indeed, another kind of confession, namely, when one wishes to be reconciled to his neighbour, of which mention is made in Matthew and James. And there is also a third kind of confession, namely, when one offends publicly, he ought publicly to acknowledge his offence.

8. We ought to cease from all work on the Lord's day, as persons zealous for God's glory, and kind to our servants; and on that day we ought to devote ourselves to the worship of God.

9. It is not lawful for a Christian, in any manner whatever, to take revenge upon his enemy.

10. A Christian may exercise the office of a magistrate over Christians.

11. There is no certain determination of time for any Christian fast, and it cannot be found in Scripture that God has either commanded or appointed any particular days.

12. Marriage is not forbidden to any, of whatsoever station or condition in life.

13. Whosoever forbids marriage, teaches a doctrine which is unscriptural and base; nay, all who have not the gift of chastity, are bound to marry.

14. The ministers of God's word ought not to remove from place to place, except it be for some great good to the Church.

15. It is not contrary to the divine word, that ministers should possess some estate proper to themselves for the subsistence of their families.

16. Jesus Christ instituted only two sacraments, namely, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which we observe, to show our perseverance in the faith, which we promised when we were baptised, being little children, and also in remembrance of the great benefits conferred upon us by Christ, when he died for our redemption, and washed us in his precious blood.

*Third Confession, dated 1655.—A Brief Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of Piedmont publishing with their Manifesto, on occasion of their dreadful Massacre of that year.**

BECAUSE we being apprised that our adversaries not contented to have persecuted and spoiled us of all our goods, to render us so much the more odious, still go circulating the most false reports, which tend not only to disgrace our persons, but above all by the infamous calumnies to blacken the holy and salutary doctrine of which we make profession, we are obliged, in order to undeceive the spirit of those who might be able to be pre-occupied with false impressions, to make a short declaration of our faith, as we have made in time past, and agreeably to the word of God, to the end, that all the world may see the falsity of the calumnies, and the injury which they have done to wrong us, and to persecute us for a doctrine which is so pure.

* In the former edition we gave the Confession dated 1544 ; but the above, being more explicit, and emitted at one of the most interesting periods of their history, is substituted in its place. Its intrinsic merit will be a sufficient apology for it.

1. We believe, first, that one only God exists, who is a spiritual essence, eternal, infinite, all-wise, merciful, just, and in sum, all-perfect; and that three persons are in that one only and simple essence, to-wit, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

2. That the same God has manifested himself unto us by the works of creation and providence, as also in his word revealed unto us, first by oracles in several manners, and afterwards by those written books which are called "The Holy Scriptures."

3. That we ought to receive those holy Scriptures, as we do, for sacred and canonical, that is to say, for the constant rule of our faith and life: as also to believe, that the same is fully contained in the books of the Old and New Testament.

4. We acknowledge the divinity of these books, not only from the testimony of the church, but more especially because of the eternal and undoubted truth of the doctrine contained in them; and of that excellency, sublimity, and divine majesty, which shine in them, besides, the operation of the Holy Spirit, who gives us to receive with reverence, the testimony which the church gives us, who opens the eyes of our under-

standing to discover the beams of that celestial light, which shines in the Scriptures, and prepares our taste to discern the divine savour of that spiritual food.

5. That God made all things out of nothing by his own most free will, and by the infinite power of his word.

6. That he governs and rules all by his providence, ordaining and appointing whatsoever happens in this world, without being author, or cause of any evil committed by his creatures, so that faults neither can, nor ought to be, any ways imputed to him.

7. That the angels were all in the beginning created pure and holy ; but that some of them are fallen into irreparable corruption and perdition ; and that the rest have persevered in their first purity by an effect of divine goodness, which has upheld and confirmed them.

8. That man was created clean and holy after the image of God, and that through his own fault, he deprived himself of that happy condition, by giving credit to the deceitful words of the devil.

9. That man by his transgressions lost that righteousness and holiness which he received,

and incurring with the wrath of God, death and captivity, under the jurisdiction of him who has the power of death, that is, the devil, insomuch, that our free will is become a servant and a slave to sin; and thus all men, both Jews and Gentiles, are by nature the children of wrath, being all dead in trespasses and sins, and consequently incapable of the least good motion, or inclination to any thing which concerns their salvation, yea, incapable to think one good thought without grace, all their imaginations being wholly evil, and that continually.

10. That all the posterity of Adam is in him guilty of his disobedience and infected by his corruption, and fallen into the same calamity with him, even the very infants from their mother's womb, whence is derived the name of *original sin*.

11. That God saves from that corruption and condemnation, those whom he has chosen from the foundation of the world, not for any disposition, faith, or holiness that he foresaw in them, but of his mere mercy in Jesus Christ his Son, passing by all the rest according to the irreprehensible reason of his free will and justice.

12. That Jesus Christ having been ordained by the eternal decree of God, to be the only Sa-

viour and only head of that body, which is the church, he redeemed it with his own blood in the fulness of time, and offers and communicates unto the same all his benefits by the gospel.

13. That there are two natures in Jesus Christ, namely, the divine and human, truly united in one and the same person, without either confusion, separation, division, or alteration, each nature keeping its own distinct properties, and that Jesus Christ is both true God and true man.

14. That God so loved the world, that is to say, those whom he has chosen out of the world, that he gave his own Son to save us by his most perfect obedience, especially that obedience which he expressed in suffering the cursed death of the cross, and also by his victory over the devil, sin, and death.

15. That Jesus Christ having fully expiated our sins by his most perfect sacrifice once offered on the cross, it neither can nor ought to be reiterated upon any account whatsoever, as they pretend to do in the mass.

16. That the Lord having fully and absolutely reconciled us unto God, through the blood of his cross, and by virtue of his merit only, and not of our works, we are absolved and justified in his

sight, neither does any other purgatory exist besides his blood, which cleanses us from all sin.

17. That we are united with Christ, and made partakers of all his benefits by faith, supported by those promises of life which are given us in his gospel.

18. That faith is the gracious and efficacious work of the Holy Spirit, which enlightens our souls, and persuades them to lean and rest upon the mercy of God, and so to apply to themselves the merits of Jesus Christ.

19. That Jesus Christ is our true and only Mediator, not only redeeming us, but also interceding for us, and that by virtue of his merits and intercession, we have access unto the Father, for to make our supplications unto him, with a holy confidence and assurance that he will grant us our requests, it being needless to have recourse to any other intercessor besides himself.

20. That as God has promised us that we shall be regenerated in Christ, so those that are united unto him by a true faith, ought to apply, and do really apply themselves unto good works.

21. That good works are so necessary to the faithful, that they cannot attain the kingdom of heaven without the same, seeing that God hath

prepared them, that we should walk in them ; and, therefore, we ought to avoid vice, and apply ourselves to Christian virtues, making use of fasting, and all other means which may conduce to so holy a thing.

22. That although our good works cannot merit any thing, yet the Lord will reward or recompence them with eternal life, through the merciful continuation of his grace, and by virtue of the unchangeable constancy of his promises made unto us.

23. That those who are already in the possession of eternal life as the consequence of their faith and good works, ought to be considered as saints and as glorified persons, and to be praised for their virtue, and imitated in all good actions of their life, but neither worshipped nor prayed unto, for God only is to be prayed unto, and that through Jesus Christ.

24. That God has gathered unto himself one church in the world for the salvation of mankind, and that same church to have one only head and foundation, which is Jesus Christ.

25. That that church is the company of the faithful, who having been elected by God before the foundation of the world, and called with an holy calling, come to unite themselves to follow

the word of God, believing whatsoever he teaches them, and living in his fear.

26. That that church cannot fail, nor be annihilated, but must endure for ever, and that all the elect are upheld, and preserved by the power of God in such sort, that they all persevere in the faith unto the end, and remain united in the holy church, as so many living members of her.

27. That all men ought to join with that church, and to continue in her communion.

28. That God does not only instruct and teach us by his word, but has also ordained certain sacraments to be joined with this word, as a means to unite us unto Christ, and to make us partakers of his benefits ; and that only two of them exist belonging in common to all the members of the church under the New Testament, to-wit, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper.

29. That God has ordained the sacrament of baptism to be a testimony of our adoption, and of our being cleansed from our sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ, and renewed in holiness of life.

30. That the Holy Supper, or Eucharist, instituted for the nourishment of our souls, to the end, that eating effectually of the flesh of Christ, and drinking effectually his blood, by the incom-

prehensible virtue and power of the Holy Spirit, and through a true and living faith ; and so uniting ourselves most closely and inseparably to Christ, we come to enjoy in him, and by him, spiritual and eternal life.

31. That it is necessary the church should have ministers, known by those who are employed for that purpose, to be learned, and of good life, as well to preach the word of God, as to administer the sacraments, and wait upon the flock of Christ, (according to the rules of a good and holy discipline,) together with elders and deacons, after the manner of the primitive church.

32. That God hath established kings and magistrates to govern the people, and that people ought to be obedient and subject to them by virtue of that ordination, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake, in all things that are conformable to the word of God, who is the King of kings, and the Lord of lords.

33. Finally, that we ought to receive the symbol of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue, as fundamentals of our faith, and of our devotion.

And for a more ample declaration of our faith, we do here reiterate the same protestation, which

we caused to be printed in the year 1603, that is to say, that we do agree to the sound doctrine with all the reformed churches of France, Great Britain, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, and others, as it is represented by them in their confessions ; as also we receive the Confession of Augsburg, and as it was published by the author, promising to persevere constantly in it, with the help of God, both in life and death, and being ready to subscribe to that eternal truth of God with our own blood, even as our ancestors have done, from the days of the apostles, and especially in these latter ages.

Therefore we humbly entreat all the evangelical and Protestant churches to look upon us as true members of the mystical body of Christ, suffering for his holy name's sake, notwithstanding our poverty and lowness ; and to continue unto us the help of their prayers to God, and all other effects of their charity, as we have heretofore abundantly found and felt ; for the which we return them our most humble thanks, entreating the Lord with all our heart to be their rewarder, and to pour upon them the most precious blessings of grace and glory, both in this life, and that which is to come. Amen.

No. II.

The following are the articles of accusation which the inquisitors drew up in the fifteenth century against the Waldenses, most of which are strictly true, and corroborate the account which has been already given of their doctrines. Some of the articles, however, as the reader will perceive, are wholly false, and in several others, their doctrines are grossly misrepresented.

1. They (the Waldenses) call the Church of Rome, a church of malignants, defaming and reproaching the same.

2. They believe, and have believed, that the Church of God is constituted in those only who live in poverty, believing in their creed, the holy Church, without spot or wrinkle.

3. That their masters, the barbes, have the power of binding and loosing, and that accordingly sins are to be confessed to them, and not to the priests of the Roman Church.

4. That it neither has been, nor is lawful for the prelates of the Roman Church to have patrimony, or temporal jurisdiction, in this world;

and that since St Sylvester, there has not been a true Pope.

5. That none has a greater degree of power and authority in the Church than he has of holiness.

6. That the sacraments administered by the priests of the Roman Church are of no efficacy or virtue.

7. That tithes are not to be paid to the said priests of the Roman Church, neither are offerings to be given them.

8. That the censures and penances inflicted by the prelates of the Roman Church are to be slighted ; because they do not bind for want of holiness, seeing they walk not in the footsteps of Christ.

9. That the Roman Church is a house of confusion, Babylon, the 'whore mentioned in Revelation, and the synagogue of the devil.

10. That none ought to yield obedience to the said Roman Church, or the prelates of the same, and that all that obey are condemned by God.

11. That there is no purgatory in another world, and that when a man dies, he either mounts up to heaven, or is cast down into hell ; and they affirm that it was from a principle of

covetousness that the Roman Church invented purgatory, on account of which they will not pray for the dead.

12. That it is not lawful to swear any thing, either true or false.

13. That it is lawful wantonly to meet together during the time of their preaching, and afterwards, for the basest purposes, &c.*

14. That it is as profitable to pray to God in a stable as in a church.

15. That prayers are to be offered up to God only, and not to the Virgin Mary, nor to the saints, seeing they cannot hear us.

16. That rain water has as great a virtue as the holy water which is in the church, because all waters are blessed by God.

17. That temporal lords are not to be obeyed, except they be such as are of their own sect.

18. That out of their sect no man shall be saved, and that those of their own sect are the true saints.

19. That no man ought to observe the festival days of the saints which were brought in by the

* This is one of the articles which it is needless to refute; the uniform character and conduct of the Waldenses proving its utter falsehood.—Articles 17 and 18 also are unfounded.

Romish Church ; and that it is lawful to do any servile work upon every one of the six days of the week.

20. That it is lawful to eat flesh anywhere, and at all times ; and that the fasts brought in by the Romish Church, who begin their Lent on the second day after the first Lord's day in Lent, are not to be kept.

21. That it is not lawful for the heretics of their sect to be given in matrimony with Catholics.

And many other enormous and wicked things they have held, believed, and preached, according to their own confessions and damnable belief, and contrary to the Catholic faith.

No. III.

*Ancient Waldensian Catechism, for the instruction of Youth.**

Quest. If any one should ask you, who are you, what would you answer ?

* This Catechism was composed in the thirteenth century, and contains the same truths in substance, which form the catechisms of Protestant Churches at the present day.—Let the reader, for example, carefully com-

Ans. A creature of God, reasonable and mortal.

Quest. Why has God created you?

Ans. That I might know and serve him, and be saved by his grace.

Quest. Wherein consists your salvation?

Ans. In three substantial virtues, which necessarily belong to salvation.

Quest. Which are they?

Ans. Faith, hope, and charity.

Quest. How do you prove that?

Ans. The Apostle writes, 1 Cor. xiii. "Now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three."

Quest. What is faith?

Ans. According to the Apostle, Heb. xi. 1. it "is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen."

Quest. How many sorts of faith are there?

Ans. Two, a living and a dead faith.

Quest. What is a living faith?

Ans. It is that which works by love.

Quest. What is a dead faith?

Ans. According to St James, it is that which without works is dead. Again, faith is nothing pare it with that excellent "form of sound words," the Assembly's Shorter Catechism.

without works ; or, a dead faith is, to believe that there is a God, and not to believe *in* him. .

Quest. What is your faith ?

Ans. The true Catholic and Apostolic faith ?

Quest. What is that ?

Ans. It is that which, in the result (or symbol) of the Apostles, is divided into twelve articles.

Quest. What is that ?

Ans. I believe in God the Father, &c.

Quest. How do you know that you believe in God ?

Ans. By this, that I know and observe his commandments.

Quest. How many commandments are there ?

Ans. Ten, viz. [the commandments follow].

Quest. What is the sum of these commandments ?

Ans. Thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself.

Quest. What is the foundation of these commandments, by which any one may enter into life, and without which foundation, none can do any thing worthily ?

Ans. The Lord Jesus Christ, as 1 Cor.

"Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Quest. By what means may a man come to this foundation?

Ans. By *faith*, as saith St Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 6.; and the Lord saith, "He that believeth hath eternal life."

Quest. Whereby canst thou know that thou believest?

Ans. By this, that I know Christ to be true God, and true Man, who was born, and who died for my redemption and justification, and that I love him, and desire to fulfil his commandments.

Quest. By what means may we attain to those essential virtues, faith, hope, and charity?

Ans. By the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Quest. Dost thou believe in the Holy Spirit?

Ans. Yes: for the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and is a person of the Trinity; and as to his Divinity, is equal to the Father and the Son.

Quest. Thou believest in God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: thou hast therefore three Gods?

Ans. I have not three.

Quest. Yes, but thou hast named three?

Ans. That is by reason of the difference of the Persons, not by reason of the essence of the Divinity: For although there are three Persons, there is but one essence.

Quest. In what manner dost thou adore and worship that God on whom thou believest?

Ans. I adore him outwardly and inwardly. Outwardly, by bending the knee, and lifting up the hands, by hymns and spiritual songs, by fasting and prayer; and inwardly, by a holy affection, by a will conformable unto all things that are well pleasing in his sight.

Quest. Dost thou adore and worship any other thing as God?

Ans. No.

Quest. Why?

Ans. Because of his commandments; whereby we are strictly enjoined to "worship the Lord our God, and him only to serve." [A number of other passages of Scripture are here added.]

Quest. After what manner prayest thou?

Ans. "Our Father which art in heaven," &c.

Quest. What is the other substantial virtue appertaining to salvation?

Ans. It is charity.

Quest. What is charity?

Ans. It is the gift of the Holy Spirit, by which the soul is reformed in the will, being enlightened by faith, whereby I believe all that ought to be believed, and hope all that ought to be hoped.

Quest. Dost thou believe in the Holy Catholic Church ?

Ans. No ; for it is a creature ; but I believe that there is one.

Quest. What is that which thou believest concerning the holy church ?

Ans. I say, that the church is considered two manner of ways, the one substantially, and the other ministerially. As it is considered substantially, by the Holy Catholic Church is meant, all the elect of God, from the beginning of the world to the end, by the grace of God through the merit of Christ, gathered together by the Holy Spirit, and fore-ordained to eternal life ; the number and names of whom are known to him alone who has elected them. And finally, in this church remains none who is reprobate. But the church, as it is considered, according to the truth of the ministry, is the company of the ministers of Christ, together with the people com-

mitted to their charge, using the ministry by faith, hope, and charity.

Quest. Whereby dost thou know the Church of Christ?

Ans. By the ministers lawfully called, and by the people participating in truth of the ministry.

Quest. But by what marks knowest thou the ministers?

Ans. By the true sense of faith; by sound doctrine; by a life of holy example; by the preaching of the gospel, and a due administration of the sacraments.

Quest. By what marks knowest thou the false ministers?

Ans. By their fruits, by their blindness, by their evil works, by their perverse doctrine, and by their undue administration of the sacraments.

Quest. By what knowest thou their blindness?

Ans. When, not knowing the truth which necessarily appertains to salvation, they observe human inventions as ordinances of God, of whom it is verified what Isaiah says, and which is alleged by our Lord Jesus Christ, Matt. xv. "This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is

far from me. But in vain do they worship me; teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Quest. By what marks knowest thou their evil works?

Ans. By those manifest sins of which the apostle speaks, Gal. v. saying, that "they which do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

Quest. By what mark knowest thou perverse doctrine?

Ans. When it teacheth contrary to faith and hope; such is idolatry of several sorts, towards a reasonable, sensible, visible, or invisible creature, for it is the Father alone, with his Son and the Holy Spirit, who ought to be worshipped, and not any creature whatsoever. But when, on the contrary, they attribute to man, and to the work of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority in such a manner, that men ignorantly believe that they have satisfied God by a false religion, and by satisfying the covetous simony of the priests.

Quest. By what marks is the undue administration of the sacrament known?

Ans. When the priests, not knowing the intention of Christ in the sacrament, say, that the grace and the truth is included in the ex-

- ternal ceremonies, and persuade men to the participation of the sacrament without the truth of faith, of hope, and of charity. But the Lord
- chargeth those that are his, to take heed of false prophets, saying, Beware of the Pharisees, that is to say, "of the leaven of their doctrine." Again, "Believe them not, neither go after them." And David hates the church of such persons, saying, "I hate the church of evil men." And the Lord commands, "to come out from the midst of such people." Num. xvi. "Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be consumed in their sins." And the apostle writes, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath God with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? and what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you," 2 Cor. vi. 14—17. Again, "Now we command you, brethren, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly," 2 Thess.

iii. 6. Again, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,"—Rev. xviii. 4.

Quest. By what marks are those people known who are not in truth within the Church?

Ans. By public sins, and an erroneous faith: From such persons we ought to fly, lest we be defiled by the m

Quest. By what way oughtest thou to communicate with the holy Church?

Ans. I ought to communicate with the Church in regard of its substance, by faith and charity, as also by observing the commandments, and by perseverance in well-doing?

Quest. How many things are there which are ministerial?

Ans. Two; the word and the sacraments:

Quest. How many sacraments are there?

Ans. Two; Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Quest. What is the third virtue necessary to salvation?

Ans. Hope.

Quest. What is hope?

Ans. It is a waiting for grace and glory to come.

Quest. How does a man wait for grace?

Ans. By the Mediator Christ Jesus, of whom St John speaks, "Grace comes by Jesus Christ."

Quest. What is that grace?

Ans. It is redemption, remission of sins, justification, adoption, and sanctification.

Quest. Upon what account is this grace hoped for in Christ?

Ans. By a living faith, and true repentance, saying, "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel."

Quest. Whence proceedeth this hope?

Ans. From the gift of God, and the promises of which the Apostle mentions, "He is powerful to perform whatsoever he promiseth;" for he hath promised himself, mercy, pardon, &c.

Quest. What are the things that put us beside this hope?

Ans. A dead faith, the seduction of antichrist to believe in other things beside Christ, that is to say, in saints, in the power of that antichrist, in his authority, words, and benedictions, in sacraments, relics of the dead, in purgatory, which is but forged and contrived, in teaching that faith is obtained by those ways which oppose themselves to the truth, and are against the commandments of God; as idolatry in divers respects; as also by wickedness and simony, &c.;

forsaking the fountain of living water given by grace, and running to broken cisterns, worshipping, honouring, and serving the creature by prayers, fastings, by sacrifices, by donations, by offerings, by pilgrimages, by invocations, &c.; relying upon themselves for the acquiring of grace, which none can give, save only God in Christ. In vain do they labour and lose their money and their lives, and the truth, and they do not only lose their present life, but also that which is to come; wherefore it is said, that the hope of fools shall perish.

Quest. What dost thou say of the blessed Virgin Mary? For she is full of grace, as the angel testifies, "I salute thee full of grace."

Ans. The blessed Virgin was and is full of grace, as much as is necessary for her own particular salvation, but not to communicate to others; for Christ alone is full of grace, and can communicate the same as he pleaseth; and "we have all received of his fulness, grace for grace."

Quest. Believest thou not the communion of saints?

Ans. I believe that there are two sorts of things wherein the saints communicate; the first substantial, the second ministerial. As to the

substantials, they communicate by the Holy Spirit, in God, through the merit of Jesus Christ : and as to the ministerial, or ecclesiastics, they communicate by the ministry duly performed, by the word, sacraments, and prayer. I believe both the one and the other of these communions of saints ;—the first only in God, in Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost by the Holy Spirit ; the other in the Church of Christ.

Quest. Wherein consists eternal life ?

Ans. In a living and operating faith, and in perseverance in the same ; for we are told by Jesus himself, “ This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,” John xvii. And “ He that endureth to the end shall be saved.”

No. IV.

A brief Exposition of the Waldenses and Albigenses of the Apostles' Creed, confirming the Articles thereof by passages of Scripture.

WE must believe in God the Father Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth : the which

God is one Trinity, as it is written in the law : " Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one." And Isaiah : " I am the Lord, and there is none else ; neither is there any God besides me." And St Paul, in the fourth of the Ephesians : " One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." And St John : " There are three that bear witness in heaven ; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and these three are one." And the Gospel of St John shews, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one, when Jesus Christ says, " that they all may be one as we are one." We must likewise believe that this Holy Trinity has created all things, and is the Lord of all things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal, as it is in St John : " All things were made by him ; and without him was not any thing made that was made." And in the Revelation it is said : " Worship him who has made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." And David has said : " Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands." And again : " By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all their hosts by the spirit of his mouth." All these things, and

many other testimonies and reasons drawn from the Scriptures, affirm that God created all things of nothing, whatsoever they are.

Again, we must believe that God the Father hath sent his Son from heaven to earth, and that for our sakes he has taken on him our flesh, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, for our salvation ; as the prophet Isaiah speaks : “ Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel,” which is, being interpreted, God with us. And the Lord declares in his gospel, that this has been accomplished, saying, “ I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world.” Again, “ I leave the world, and go to the Father.” And further, “ The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.” And in the Epistle of John : “ We know that the Son of God is come :” that for us he hath taken our flesh upon him ; that for us he is raised again from death ; and that he “ hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true ; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son, Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life.” And to the Galatians : “ When the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to

redeem them that were under the law ;" who, by the commandment of God the Father, and by his own free will, was lifted up upon the altar of the cross, and crucified, and has redeemed mankind with his own blood ; which having accomplished, he arose from death the third day, having dispersed in the world a light everlasting, like a new sun ; that is, the glory of the resurrection, and of the heavenly inheritance, which the same Son of God has promised to give to all true servants of the faith. For, ascending up into heaven the fortieth day after his resurrection, he, on the tenth day after his ascension, sent his Holy Spirit from heaven to comfort his apostles, and to replenish his Holy Church with the same Spirit.

We must believe that the same God hath chosen to himself a glorious church, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, as St Paul speaketh, to the end it should be holy and undefiled, according to the commandment of the Almighty : " Be ye holy, for I am holy." And in Matthew v. " Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect : " for nothing that commits abomination, or maketh a lie, shall enter into the kingdom of

God, but only they that are written in the book of life, as said in the Revelation.

We must believe the universal resurrection of which our Saviour speaks in the Gospel of St John : " The hour cometh, when all that are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth, they that have done good, to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil, to the resurrection of damnation." And St Paul saith, in the first to the Corinthians, that "all shall be raised, and all shall be changed." And Job says ; " I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth ; and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God ; whom I shall see for myself, and not another." Thus my hope rests in my breast.

We must believe the general judgment upon all the children of Adam, as the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament affirm. As our Saviour promises in St Matthew : " When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory ; and before him shall be gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep

from the goats ; and he shall set the sheep on his right hand." And Jude Thaddeus : " Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all." And the prophet Isaiah saith : " The Lord cometh in judgment with the ancients of his people, and with his young men also." These things are said in the Old and New Testament, and especially the four Evangelists ; and the prophets witness in many sentences.

No. V.

Declaration of the Inhabitants of some of the Valleys, made in the year 1603, that the Duke of Savoy drove them from their country.

SEEING that our predecessors, in all times, and from father to son, have been taught in the doctrine and religion of which we have always made open profession from our infancy, and have instructed our families as we have learned from our fathers, and of which, even to this time, that the king no more rules the Marquisate of Saluzzo, we make profession without any degree of disturbance, as our brethren of the Valleys of

Lucerna, who, by an express treaty made with their sovereign prince, have obtained the continuation in which we rejoice.

Because that his highness, being persuaded by the counsel of evil-intended persons, rather than of his own proper inclination, has resolved to disquiet us, and to this end has made an edict against us; to the end that all the world may know that this is not for any crime which we have committed either against the person of our prince, or for rebellion against the laws, or that we are guilty of murders, of thefts, and the like, that we are troubled in this manner, spoiled of our goods, and driven from our houses: we declare that we are certain and persuaded that the doctrine and the religion practised by the reformed churches of France, Switzerland, Germany, England, Scotland, Geneva, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and other kingdoms and nations and lordships, of which, even to this present time, we have made open profession, under the obedience of our princes and sovereign, is the only doctrine and religion ordained of God, which alone can render us agreeable to God, and lead us to salvation. We are resolved to hold it in peril

of our lives, goods, and honours, and to continue in it even to the last breath of our life.

And if any one believe that we are in error; we beg him most humbly that he shew us the error, while we offer immediately to renounce it, and to follow all that shall be shown us to be more excellent, not desiring any thing more than to render to God the obedience which we owe to him as poor creatures, and by this means to obtain from him a true and eternal felicity. But if by violence they wish to constrain us to abandon the way of salvation, to follow error and false doctrines invented by men, we would choose rather to suffer the loss of our houses, goods, and lives, begging most humbly his highness, whom we acknowledge for our legitimate prince and lord, that he do not suffer us to be persecuted without cause, but rather that we should be able to continue all the rest of our life, our children and our posterity after us, in the same obedience, which even to this time we have inviolably rendered to him as his true and loyal subjects.

We demand nothing else of him, except that in rendering to him all that we owe him, according to the express command of God, he leave us also to render to God the service which is due

to him, and which he demands from us by his word. And in the meantime, in the midst of our calamities and banishments, we pray the reformed churches to acknowledge us for her true members, being ever ready to seal with our own blood, if God calls us to it, the Confession of Faith which they have published; which we hold to be quite agreeable with the doctrine of the holy apostles, being willing to live and to die in it. And if so doing, we are persecuted, we give thanks to God, who has done us the honour to suffer for his quarrel, leaving the issue of our affairs, and the justice of our cause, entirely in the hands of the providence of God, who will deliver us, when, and by the means which he shall please.

We humbly beseech him, that as he holds in his hands the hearts of kings and princes, he may be pleased to bend the heart of his highness to have pity on us, who have never offended him, and we are resolved never to offend him, to the end, that if he know us, he may acknowledge that we are faithful subjects, rather than those who provoke him to persecute us after this manner, and that as to us, he may please to support us amidst the temp-

tations, and to grant us constancy and patience to persevere in the profession of the truth, even to the end of our life, and our posterity after us. Amen.

THE END.

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